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**THE ROLE OF HOMOPHILY IN SERVING OR SUPPRESSING FIRM
RELATIONSHIP MARKETING OPPORTUNITIES**

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**The Role of Homophily in Serving or Suppressing Firm Relationship
Marketing Opportunities**

by

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Dedication

I am overjoyed, and incredibly thankful to God for providing me with the courage to persevere and complete this dissertation. I have grown into the woman that I am because of the example of His son Jesus Christ; I pray that I never take that for granted. I dedicate this work to my late father Dr. Phillip Joseph Chenevert. Dr. Chenevert was a brilliant physician who would explain the most complicated diagnosis in a way that even a four-year old child could understand. This demonstrated love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, and self-control—all fruits of the Holy Spirit. I am blessed because of my father's example. As I move forward, I pray that I am able to engage my work, community, and students in a way that will live up to the name Dr. Chenevert.

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The Role of Homophily in Serving or Suppressing Firm Relationship Marketing Opportunities

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Abstract: This research questions whether homophily or “sameness” within the advertising agency positively or negatively impacts the black owned advertising agency’s ability to build client relationships, expand business related to their perceived expertise, or expand business not related to their perceived expertise. Why study black owned advertising agencies? The case of black advertising agency owners provides a particularly compelling context in which to understand homophily and its impact on relationship marketing. Historically, black advertising entrepreneurs have been marginalized to the black consumer market, which was a reflection of black American citizens’ struggle for civil and labor rights. This research seeks to understand whether this historical sameness in ownership, employees, and consumer target negatively or positively impacts 21st century black advertising agency owners’ ability to build broader relationships to sustain or grow their businesses. In depth interviews were conducted to understand this issue. Respondents revealed the aspects of homophily or sameness that were important to their relationship marketing activities, the pursuit and development of their advertising agency, employee hiring, and mentoring. This research not only revealed the types of white dominate group bias the respondents experienced, but just as important, revealed in-group or black-on-black bias in the advertising industry as well.

Table of Contents

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| List of Tables | x |
| List of Figures | xi |
| Chapter 1: Introduction | 1 |
| Chapter 2: Literature Review | 6 |
| Business-to-business marketing | 6 |
| Advertising agencies as business-to-business relationship marketers | 8 |
| Theoretical underpinnings of homophily | 10 |
| Homophily as a precursor to business-to-business bonding | 11 |
| Homophily and its influence on attitude formation | 13 |
| Homophily, sales force scholarship and relationship marketing success | 14 |
| How homophily is determined | 15 |
| Homophily, advertising social networks and sales | 16 |
| Homophily acceptance or denial: In-group/out-group dynamics | 18 |
| Race, stereotypes and out-grouping | 20 |
| Discrimination and entrepreneurial pursuits | 23 |
| Expectations of workplace incompetence and the lure of business ownership | 25 |
| The diversity problem in the advertising industry | 27 |
| Early black entrepreneurship in advertising | 28 |
| Black entrepreneurship in advertising in the 21st century | 30 |
| Age Cohort: 46-75 black advertising agency owners | 32 |
| Age Cohort: 25-45 Black advertising agency owners | 34 |
| The complexities of advertising agency stability and growth | 36 |

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Chapter 3: Methods | 38 |
| Chapter 4: Findings | 48 |
| Chapter 5: Discussion, conclusions and directions for future research | 89 |
| Appendix: Interview Protocol | 138 |
| References | 142 |

List of Tables

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Table 1: Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner 1979) | 133 |
| Table 2: Companies to Whom the NAACP Sent Letter, 2004 | 134 |
| Table 3: Steps of the Heuristic Model of the theory of Economic Detour | 135 |
| Table 4: List of respondents:..... | 136 |
| Table 5: Respondents' conceptualization of homophily as it relates to employees and clients | 137 |

List of Figures

| | |
|----------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 1: The Business Life Cycle..... | 132 |
|----------------------------------------|-----|

Chapter 1: Introduction

Diversity and inclusion have long been challenging issues in the advertising industry. One viewing of AMC's hit television series *Mad Men* about a 1960s era advertising agency shows eerily familiar images for those who work in the advertising industry. As in the 1960s, in 2013, white males dominated the advertising industry at the highest ranks. While white women were making strides in entering these agencies, their presence at the highest executive ranks was few and far between (Klassen 2011). Other traditionally marginalized groups continued to be disadvantaged in general market agencies' executive ranks and in the advertising industry as entrepreneurs. As a result, they carved out niches for themselves by starting agencies that focused on specialized markets like Asian American, multicultural, black consumer, female consumer, Hispanic, and LGBTQ advertising. Though these businesses filled a legitimate void in the advertising industry, the goals of helping to unravel their groups' media stereotypes and grow their businesses are not necessarily aligned. They sought to serve their communities by showcasing what they felt were authentic and varied representations of their groups through advertising. However, the focus on this service, or mission orientation, complicated their pursuit of more lucrative opportunities in other markets. Their legitimate mission served to keep them in place in their niches. It is this separate, but perhaps unequal, industry structure that is under investigation in the present research.

Conceivably, the best way to unravel the complicated business growth issues of niche consumer advertising agencies was to examine the relationship between niche

advertising agency owners' identity and the shared identity of their niche consumers.

This “sameness” or homophily is the tendency of individuals or networks to associate and bond with similar others (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001; Rhodes and Butler 2004; Rhodes and Butler 2010). This research examined the role of homophily in serving or suppressing firm relationship marketing opportunities. Specifically, this research engaged black advertising agency owners representing different age cohorts who may or may not maintain a black consumer market expertise. This research questioned whether homophily within the agency or external to the agency positively or negatively impacted the agency's ability to build client relationships, expand business related to their expertise, or expand business not related to their expertise. There are three compelling reasons to study black owned advertising agencies as it is related to homophily and relationship marketing. First, black Americans are underrepresented in general market advertising agencies. Second, black advertising agency owners provide a particularly compelling context in which to understand homophily and its impact on relationship marketing. Third, this work will have implications for other groups that are marginalized in the advertising industry.

Historically, black advertising entrepreneurs had limited opportunities to advance in general market advertising agencies. Additionally, black consumers were generally portrayed as poor and unsophisticated with limited taste and preferences. It is between these two circumstances that early black entrepreneurs pursued their entrepreneurial ventures in advertising. These advertising agencies were black-owned and staffed reflecting a racial homophily in ownership, employees, and consumer expertise

(Chambers 2009). By the 21st century, many black advertising entrepreneurs still counted the black consumer market as part of their expertise. However, many have expanded to include urban lifestyle and multicultural marketing, as well as general market public relations, event planning, digital media, social media and other capabilities. Even though these agencies have positioned themselves more broadly, this research sought to understand whether these entrepreneurs perceived that marketers caught on.

It has been 50 years since the Equal Employment Commission filed charges against the advertising industry for their lack of ethnic inclusion in general market agencies according to the New York Commission on Human Rights, but little has changed. Similar charges were filed in 2006. Black-owned agencies currently employ the vast majority of black Americans who work in advertising. If the advertising industry's general market agencies have been slower to incorporate black employees in their general market ranks, do black entrepreneurs perceive that marketers are slow to hire traditionally black consumer based firms for general market work? Does homophily impact these firms' ability to sell their general market expertise? Further, as a new crop of black entrepreneurs in advertising begins to flourish, how might homophily and its perceived effect on business growth manifest itself differently in older versus younger black advertising agency owners?

Extant homophily research in management has considered the impact of homophily both within and external to the organization. From an internal perspective, homophily has been considered regarding work group similarity and improved supply chain management (Wagner 2010). Marketing scholars have studied homophily with

respect to customer-to-customer network interactions (Hill, Provost, & Volinsky 2006; Johnson and Grier 2011) and how early adopters encouraged laggards toward prompter purchase. Homophily research related to advancing in management within an organization has also been completed (Broyles and Grow 2008; Nath and Mahajan 2008; Mallia 2009). External to the organization homophily has been considered from a cross-cultural business-to-business perspective. Lack of homophily in cultural norms can positively or negatively impact cross cultural business-to-business relationships (Williams, Han, and Qualls 1998). Additionally, Rhodes and Butler (2010) found that in order for a family business to grow, the business must expand outside the family homophily both in internal and external relationships. Expansion outside of the family homophily played a role in evolving firm identity, relationship marketing opportunities, and overall growth (Palmatier, et al. 2006).

Since this research sought to understand the perceptions of black advertising agency entrepreneurs as they relate to homophily, in-depth interviews were selected as the method of this research. In an effort to remain true to the tenets of in-depth interviews and grounded theory methodology, the questions under investigation were intentionally broad in scope. Keeping the research questions broad provided flexibility and open mindedness, which are necessary components for conducting effective exploratory and interpretive research (Stebbins, 2001). As such, the principle questions under investigation are the following:

1. How do black advertising agency owners perceive homophily or "sameness" in their business? For instance, do they perceive homophily to be based on racial, psychographic, gender, personality, culture, and/or religion?
2. How do they perceive this homophily serves (e.g., more qualified applicants, improved new business wins, industry awards) or suppresses (e.g., limited request for proposals, not invited to participate in certain-potentially lucrative business networks, limited growth from current client business, not being invited to pitch certain business) their business?
3. What type of homophily affects their business the most?
4. How is homophily perceived differently between older (46-75) and younger (25-45) black advertising agency owners?

The present research will reflect the following format: Chapter 1: Introduction; Chapter 2: Literature Review; Chapter 3: Methods; Chapter 4: Findings Chapter 5: Discussion, future areas of research and contributions.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter will review relevant literature related business-to-business marketing, the components of homophily, and their relationship to business-to-business sales opportunities for black-owned advertising agencies.

Business-to-business marketing

Advertising agencies practice business-to-consumer and business-to-business advertising on behalf of clients. However, advertising must use its business-to-business expertise in order to be able to successfully sell their services to marketing clients and win new business. Unlike consumer marketing, which advertising agencies help marketers to facilitate, business-to-business marketing is the practice of individuals or organizations enabling the sale of their products and services to other companies and organizations (Lichtenthal & Beik, 1984; Lichtenthal, Mummalaneni & Wilson, 2008). Key concerns of business-to-business marketers and scholars and therefore advertising agency leaders include but are not limited to relationship management (client/agency), business market segmentation (new business development/client segmentation), new industrial product development (capabilities), business marketing channels, pricing strategy (employee time vs. service charges), business marketing communications, and marketing business-to-business products versus services (Jones, 1999; Dant & Lapuka, 2008). The characteristics of business-to-business marketing are all aspects for which advertising agencies engage both as a capability for their clients and on behalf of

themselves. More specifically, in the business-to-business context, advertising is considered a business-to-business service. Next, there will be a broader discussion about marketing business-to-business services and how that relates to advertising agencies.¹

Advertising as a business-to-business marketing service

Unlike marketing business-to-business products that contain attributes that can stand on their own, business-to-business services are often attached to a parent firm's identity which makes business-to-business services branding crucial to set them apart from their competitors (Berry 2000; Davis, Golici, & Marquardt 2008). The strength of a service brand is primarily driven by attributes of the firm such as the quality of the service, the people standing behind the service, and supplier/customer relationships (Davis, Golici & Marquardt 2008). For advertising agencies, brand reputations are built on capabilities, creative and effectiveness awards as well as current and former client interactions (Jones 1999; Davies and Melvin 2005).

For potential clients, service branding ~~helps~~ helps to reduce decision-making complexity and provides a point of differentiation for the service provider that may lead to a position of competitive advantage (Berry 2000). "Given the intangible nature of service offerings and, consequently, the difficulty in differentiating a firm's service offering from competitors in the marketplace, services branding is an important factor in business-to-business service marketing" (Davis, Golici, & Marquardt, 2008, p. 218). It is of even greater importance to advertising agencies because their own agency branding, and by extension, their business-to-business marketing materials, are samples of their in-

house capabilities that may be utilized on a client's behalf (Jones 1999; Davies and Melvin 2005). For example, if an advertising agency sends a brand manager a 3-D direct mail piece that introduces the agency, that 3-D direct mail piece serves two purposes: sales tool and an example of a potentially useful creative execution. For agencies, how they represent themselves creatively influences their relationship marketing opportunities, as their creative is a representation of the agency's brand identity and the potential quality of their work for clients (Shippee 2009). Next, there will be a discussion about the importance of relationship marketing to advertising agencies.

Advertising agencies as business-to-business relationship marketers

In addition to proven creative executions, social and business relationships are key to an advertising agency's success (James, 1999; Davies and Melvin 2005). Traditionally, scholars believed business-to-business buying decisions were based on cost economics alone. This assumed that decision makers only rationally evaluate and choose products or services based on transaction costs (Rindfleisch and Heide, 1997). While transaction costs theory has received considerable empirical support, it also has been criticized for being "under-socialized" for neglecting the social aspects of firm decision-making (McNally and Griffin 2005). This is important because advertising is a social business. Major campaigns are won and lost based on a gut feeling. Clients not only consider what agency will be able to execute, but also whether the advertising agency workers will be able to "mesh" well with the brand team. What agency is going to be the best fit? In a marketer's new business pitch that includes multiple agencies, all agencies

may be able to prove that they can help the marketer meet his or her goals. As a result, winning executions can come down to a matter of taste and chemistry. This chemistry is the foundation of building a strong and fruitful agency/client relationship.

Since relationships are so paramount, major campaigns are also won when a powerful client like a chief marketing officer (CMO), moves on to another company and wants to bring the former advertising agency along (Jones, 1999; Davies and Melvin 2005). Many agency client relationships change hands, but remain connected because of career-long, agency-employee, and client-employee relationships. As a result, this research needs to understand from owners the nature of client relationship development. For example, owners will discuss how they grow business for their agency. To what extent does new business come from former current clients, or new clients? To what would owners attribute success from each source-client relationship, reputation, business-to-business marketing materials etc.?

For a client, being able to reach back to former or current agency contacts regarding new opportunities saves time and cuts down on the cost of sourcing a new agency. These costs can often include hiring a new advertising agency search firm, and potentially providing thousands of dollars per agency that could be used for the time and/or research that informs the pitch (Jones, 1999; Davies and Melvin 2005).

To further elaborate, business-to-business marketing scholars explained these relationships in this way: “Relationship marketing is the ongoing process of engaging in cooperative and collaborative activities and programs with immediate and end-use customers to create or enhance mutual economic value at a reduced cost” (Parvatiyar and

Sheth 2000, 9). Relationship marketing refers to building and maintaining quality relationships with targeted customers. It is a process that occurs over time, and results in relational exchange. Relational exchange includes ongoing exchanges and the expectation of future exchanges that are characterized as cooperative, interdependent, and involve trust and personal friendships (Dwyer Schurr and Oh 1987; Parvatiyar and Sheth 2000). For advertising agencies, relationships are constantly being built and expanded with current and future clients. New business can be won from former clients, new clients or from current clients whom the agency is able to persuade to increase the scope of their campaign or allow the agency to take on another one of their brands (Jones, 1999; Davies and Melvin 2005). For this research, owners will discuss relational exchange as it relates to their business. In what ways do they work to build relationships with clients? How do they build trust? To what extent do personal friendships matter to new business development? Building personal friendships requires self-selection. In what way and in what form do humans self select and group off with similar or like-minded others? The following homophily discussion will provide details as to how people self-select and how self-selection relates to the business of advertising.

Theoretical underpinnings of homophily

Advertising is a business of relationships and tends to attract a similar type of personality in client-facing roles that is extroverted, enjoys creativity in their work, and is incredibly social (Jones 1999). This makes the advertising business ripe for homophily

study since homophily is the tendency of individuals or networks to associate and bond with similar others (McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook, 2001).

Homophily as a precursor to business-to-business bonding

From a business-to-business perspective, the foundation of bonding is described in a social or structural context. During social bonding, individuals are bonded together via organizational members' personal and social relationships with their counterparts. Structural bonding or "task bonding" is based on some mutually beneficial economic, strategic, technological, and/or organizational objective. Both social and structural bondings were antecedents to commitment and are important variables in business relationship success (Williams, Han, and Qualls 1998). Williams et al. (1998) found that individualistic cultures, like the United States, are more likely to put more emphasis on social bonding than structural bonding when building business-to-business relationships. Further,

Social settings provide an informal environment conducive to building closer interpersonal relationships, and fostering better understanding of mutual needs. Social interaction may also build trust if the degree of personal friendship and liking shared by the buyer and supplier helps buyers attribute benevolent intentions to suppliers they like and with whom they share common social bonds (Doney, Barry, and Abratt, 2007 p. 1099).

Since advertising is a social business and the United States' businesses tend to rely heavily on social bonding to build business-to-business relationships, it is important

to understand in what way these homophily related bonds are formed (Williams, Han, and Qualls 1998; Davies and Melvin 2005).

Homophily's scholarly contributions to business related issues

Extant homophily research in management has considered the impact of homophily both within and external to the organization. From an internal perspective, homophily has been considered regarding work group similarity and improved supply chain management (Wagner 2010). Some aspect of “sameness” is important to work group success (Ruef, Aldrich, & Carter 2003). Generally, these characteristics may refer to social identities that are attached to individuals by society at large (e.g., ascribed characteristics such as gender, race, or age) or personal convictions concerning values, beliefs, norms, or lifestyles.

Marketing scholars have studied homophily with respect to customer-to-customer network interactions (Hill, Provost, and Volinsky, 2006; Johnson and Grier 2011) and how early adopters can encourage laggards toward prompter purchase. Homophily is also considered regarding its importance in advancing in the management rank within an organization (Broyles and Grow 2008; Nath and Mahajan 2008; Mallia 2009). From an external perspective, homophily has been considered from a cross-cultural business-to-business perspective as previously discussed (Williams, Han, and Qualls 1998).

Additionally, Rhodes and Butler (2010) found that in order for family businesses to grow, these businesses would need to expand outside the family homophily both in internal and external relationships. Even though it has been established that relationship marketing is key to maintaining and building a business-to-business customer base, there

is little empirical research considering the connection among homophily specifically, relationship marketing, and the subsequent impact on business-to-business customers' selection of products and services.

Homophily and relationship marketing

Issues in external relationships, including homophily related concepts in relationship marketing, are a relatively new area under investigation. However, extant scholarship does consider the outcomes of existing relationships (Doney, Barry, and Abratt, 2007; Schumann et. al, 2010). Schumann et. al, (2010) confirmed that trust building behaviors such as social interaction, open communications, customer orientation and service outcomes such as technical, functional and economic quality positively influence key relational outcomes such as loyalty, commitment and share of purchases. However, there is little research that investigates how these relationships are initially formed. Who is in and who is out? This research sought to uncover perceptions of relationship building activities and by extension-how homophily impacts business growth (Halinen 1997; Fam and Waller 2008). Homophily in business-to-business relationships is important to investigate since it can be such a force in shaping worldviews and therefore judgment of others.

Homophily and its influence on attitude formation

Homophily limits people's social worlds in a way that has powerful implications for the information they receive, the attitudes they form, and the interaction they experience. Homophily in race and ethnicity creates a strong divide in personal

environments, with age, religion, education, occupation, and gender also being large contributors (McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook 2001). This research questions whether this notion of race being a dominant form of homophily holds true in black owned advertising agencies-especially generationally. Is race the most dominant form of homophily in both the older and younger cohort of black owned advertising agencies or do personal convictions matter more? If this research displays generational differences in the way homophily is represented internally in these black owned advertising agencies, it could be a significant contribution to the homophily literature. In either case, does race as a form of homophily contribute to internal relationship building and to the overall success of the agency? Does internal homophily limit the success of the agency in that it diminishes opportunities for certain new business wins? Does internal homophily improve the success of the agency in that it increases opportunities for certain new business wins?

Homophily, sales force scholarship and relationship marketing success

Though the specific connection of homophily to relationship marketing in regard to choice of product or service firm has been studied to a limited degree, some clues to this connection may be found in sales force research (Jones, et al., 1998;Valenzuela, Mulki, and Jaramillo 2010). Sales force literature suggest that first impressions and perceived similarity (homophily) are important factors in relationship formation (Kalafatis 2002). Social psychology refers to this as the matching hypothesis, which suggests people first form relationships with people they perceive as similar in

appearance to themselves (Jones et al., 1998). In most cases, this is an unconscious act. Similar to the internal homophily questions represented previously, this research also sought to understand if or how external homophily or similarity to clients impacted the agency's ability to enhance or build client relationships. Do the owners perceive that lack of external homophily between the agency and clients limits an agency's ability to build relationships with clients externally thereby limiting their business? Do the owners perceive that external homophily improves the agencies' ability to build relationships with clients?

According to Jones, et al. (1998), as similarity increases, so does the degree of attraction (Jones, et al., 1998). Further, people use easily identifiable features like race or gender and judge individuals based on stereotypes. These judgments are made without deep thought. With respect to selling, these first impressions can be crucial to a salesperson's success (Elsa's and Graves, 1997; Jones, et al., 1998, Usage & Egger, 2006). Next, the psychological process of how first impressions are generated are discussed. These processes are homophily in action showing how people first begin to group themselves and others.

How homophily is determined

The psychological process of these first impressions, described in social identity theory, is composed of four elements-Categorization, Identification, Comparison, and Psychological Distinctiveness (Tajfel & Turner 1979) (see Table 1). In articulating the theory, Tajfel and Turner argued that these elements of human interaction range in order

from being purely interpersonal to purely intergroup (Horney 2008). For the purposes of this study, understanding how owners feel they perceive themselves, how their clients perceive them, how they compare the two, and how differences may or may not affect new business opportunities is key. Do owners perceive that they are being judged fairly when pitching client business? How do owners perceive themselves and their agency? How do clients perceive them and their agency? Do those identities and categorizations impact their new business opportunities? If so, in what way? Have owners ever been met with any superficial discomfort from clients regarding new business opportunities? How did they handle it? Superficial discomfort cannot only hurt a salesperson's chances in a particular opportunity, but in an entire career of opportunities because they miss a chance to add potentially lucrative, well-connected clients to their network. Since such social networks are so important, they are discussed in more detail below.

Homophily, advertising social networks and sales

A social network is a social structure made up of a set of actors (such as individuals or organizations) and the connection between these actors (Iacobucci 1996; Wasserman & Faust, 1994; Scott & Davis, 2003; Freeman 2004; Borgatti, et al., 2009, Easley & Kleinberg 2010). In advertising, these networks include networks of consumers, creative vendors, employees, and clients (Jones 1999). For the purposes of this research, owners will be asked to describe their key social networks, business or personal, that helps them find new business opportunities. They will also be asked to consider how much homophily plays a role in developing these networks.

The social network perspective provides a clear way of analyzing the structure of whole communal entities (Wasserman & Faust 1994; Scott & Davis 2003). The study of these social networking structures identifies local and global patterns, locates influential entities, and examines network dynamics (Iacobucci 1996; Easley & Kleinberg 2010). Social capital is an aspect of social networks that is a sociological concept, which refers to the value of social relations and the role of cooperation and confidence to achieve positive outcomes (Borgatti et al. 2009). The term refers to the value one can get from their social ties. For the purposes of this research, owners will be asked to consider the value of their social ties and how they relate them to the success of their business.

In advertising agencies, the people primarily responsible for bringing new business into the agency are senior client facing managers and senior new business managers. A senior client-facing manager can help grow current in-house business. New business managers seek new business opportunities not currently in-house (Jones 1999; Davies and Melvin 2005). Given a fair chance, a senior advertising agency managers' client contact can turn into a major source of revenue which could lead to successful periphery network ties and ultimately advancement (Borgatti et al., 2009, Easley & Kleinberg 2010). The more contacts and relationships agency managers are able to build, the better their network, the more they are successful (Jones 1999; Freeman 2004). However, a senior agency manager must be accepted into these networks and groups in order to reap their benefits. In order to further understand how people are accepted or denied access to potentially lucrative networks, social psychology concepts and theories are further explored below.

Homophily acceptance or denial: In-group/out-group dynamics

Social psychology concepts include the broader social networks previously described. They also include the more specific actors within social networks such as in-group/out-group dynamics, in-group favoritism, social influence and group polarization. These actors improve the understanding of how homophily works because they reflect how individuals gravitate toward or exclude others.

If a senior advertising agency manager is without a positive network or in-group client ties, that manager may be quickly banished to the out-group (Tajfel et. al, 1971; James 1999). From an external client relationship perspective, out-grouping could happen for a reason as vague as no longer being the cool, hot shop or as specific as developing a reputation for not delivering accountable results. From an internal advertising agency perspective out-grouping could stem from a failing client brand, an inability to contribute to new business, or not meshing well with the dominant agency culture. With in-group favoritism the opposite is true; externally and internally the agency or the individual are in demand (Tajfel et. al, 1971).

In the case of the advertising agency or employee, favoritism can be displayed in consistent new business wins or plum assignments for individuals (Tajfel et. al, 1971; James 1999). If a particular advertising agency is in-demand, meaning that their work is unique and effective, the agency can impact client networks socially and professionally. That is, under conditions where group categorization is psychologically salient, people will shift their beliefs in line with in-group social norms (Tajfel et. al, 1971, Jones 1999).

Individuals and groups like to be associated with winners as that association improves their profile.

However, if the agency is losing steam, it can fall as quickly as it rose as a result of group polarization (Tajfel et. al, 1971, Jones 1999). This generally refers to the tendency for groups to make decisions that are more extreme than the initial inclination of its members, although polarization toward the most central beliefs has also been observed. It has been shown that this effect is related to a psychologically salient in-group and out-group categorization (Tajfel et. al, 1971). For the purposes of this research, owners will be asked to consider their reputation in the minds of current clients and future clients. How do they feel current clients might describe their work- creative, current and effective (in-group) or tried and true (potentially out-group). How much do they feel current client thoughts about the agency reputation impact future new business opportunities? Has a positive reputation regarding their agency's expertise hindered the agency's ability to acquire new business outside of that expertise? Has the agency owner ever been challenged by a poor reputation? How did the agency owner manage that challenge(s)? These social psychology concepts relate to the understanding of homophily in that they provide a guide to how homophily is perceived in their mind, and as a result how an advertising agency or individuals could be placed in the in group or the out group. The out group--or group polarization--can be based on a failure, change in management, or even the superficiality of a racial stereotypes.

Race, stereotypes and out-grouping

Historians have stated that in the 16th and 17th centuries, “race” was a term used in England for general categorization. It was used interchangeably with words like “type,” “breed,” and “species.” By the American Revolutionary era in the early 18th century, race became a standard way of categorizing people. Specifically, race signified a new ideology about human differences and a new way of structuring American society. This was a time in American history when the dominant ideology of time centered on equality, justice, civil liberties, and freedom from British rule. As a result, the white Protestant elite needed to find a way to justify slavery in order to sustain the new country’s economic independence. The early basic construction of race in the United States did not identify country of origin (ethnicity) though non-English origin Europeans did pursue and win the designation of “white” in order to receive the economic and social benefits of that rank. These benefits included freedom, as well as priority with regard to land and labor rights (Smedley and Smedley 2005).

In order of human worth, the broad social construction of race ranked whites as superior, Asians and Indians (Native-Americans) in the middle, and Negroes (black slaves) as less than human. Female members of each designation were less regarded than their male counterparts. While the designation of the Negro as a race in America was first imagined by whites, this identity was claimed by its group members as a cultural grouping and a political identity. This political unification was important to black American’s fight for civil and labor rights. By the 21st century, “negro” evolved to mean

black American or African-American, and the terms were oftentimes used interchangeably by in-group and out-group members (Smedley and Smedley 2005).²¹

This early social construction of race is at the heart of race-based stereotypes that persist even in the 21st century. Stereotypes are largely attributed to groups of people like those previously described. However, if a stereotyped group makes up a larger part of an organization, it would be logical to consider that those stereotypes could extend to the organization and impact the business. Common black American stereotypes found in media portrayals typically involve characteristics of deviance, violence and laziness (Avery, McKay and Wilson 2008). Additionally, black Americans are often depicted as athletes or entertainers. Because of these popular, yet limiting, definitions, group members may experience the dominant culture as unwilling to welcome them in as individuals who can successfully participant in a range of social and career opportunities (Taylor, et al. 1995). In fact, black Americans consistently report that managing stereotypes in the work place is a part of their unwritten job description (Bartol, Evans, & Stith, 1978; Jackson, et. al, 1995; Jones and Shorter-Gooden 2003; McKay and Wilson 2008).

Jones and Shorter-Gooden (2003) interviewed 400 black women with different professional backgrounds who spoke about workplace challenges and balancing family. Their research captured workplace narratives that included concerns about feeling pressured to put others at ease because of a violent stereotype.

¹ African-American and black American will be used interchangeably throughout this dissertation

The communication accommodation theory argues that when people interact they adjust their speech, their vocal patterns and their gestures, to accommodate to others. It explores the various reasons why individuals emphasize or minimize the social differences between themselves and those with whom they are communicating through verbal and non-verbal communication (Turner, Lynn H.; West, Richard 2010, p 2).

In this case, Jones and Shorter-Gooden's (2003) work reported that the respondents "accommodation" was based on imposed pressure by the dominant culture to measure up to the dominant culture's ideals in dress, hairstyle, speech, and interests. This accommodation is closely related to code switching.

Code switching has typically been defined as "the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation or interaction" (Scotton & Ury 1977, p. 7). However, Jones and Shorter-Gooden expanded code switching beyond linguistics and also included entire personhood switching in an effort to avoid stereotypes (Jones and Shorter-Gooden 2003). The pressure of the job function plus the additional stress of conforming and managing stereotypes took its toll.

Jackson, et al. (1995) tested the theory of proportional representation, which suggests tokens (gender and ethnic rarities in the workplace) experience more work stress and psychological symptoms than non-tokens (Jackson, et. al, 1995). Further, and consistent with their expectations, the analysis showed that numerical rarity by race and by gender significantly increased symptoms of depression and anxiety. Numerical rarity by race significantly increased "token stress" (e.g., loss of black identity, multiple

demands of being black, sense of isolation, and having to show and prove greater competence than whites) (Jackson et. al, 1995).

McKay and Wilson (2008) supported Jackson's (1995) findings in that they found that the more black Americans felt isolated in the workplace, the more they felt they needed to defend themselves against stereotypes. A black supervisor who is a direct report minimized this perception even if blacks were still considered a numerical rarity.

Stereotypes are an important consideration for this research because of their group polarization effects. Stereotypes can effectively serve to out group individuals and highlight how a lack of racial homophily negatively impacted individuals. For black advertising agency owners, do they feel that stereotypes impacted their careers prior to becoming business owners? Do they perceive stereotypes affect the types of business they are invited to pitch as business owners? Do they perceive that stereotypes impacted their ability to broaden the scope of their agency offerings in the minds of clients? These are important considerations as some scholars have asserted that business ownership allowed traditionally disadvantaged groups to bypass career setbacks caused by stereotypes (Teixeira 2001; Mora & Davila 2005; Teixeira, Lo, & Truelove 2007).

Discrimination and entrepreneurial pursuits

A disadvantage perspective argues that job scarcity or lower wages induced by discrimination pushes members of the discriminated groups into self-employment (Teixeira 2001; Mora & Davila 2005; Teixeira, Lo, & Truelove 2007). For example, immigrants in the United States, many of whom are ethnic minorities lacking English

language fluency, more often report “blocked mobility” as a reason for becoming self-employed than do their English-proficient counterparts (Raijman and Tienda 2000; Sargeant and Moutray, 2010; Wang, 2010).

Similarly, women and ethnic minorities encountered experiences within traditional organizational settings that resulted in feelings of disenchantment with corporate life and their opportunities for career advancement. These experiences may “push” these individuals out of organizations, and attract them to entrepreneurship as an alternate route for both personal and professional success. What follows is a consideration of some of the issues confronting women and/or minorities in organizations that produced the discontent that ultimately may be the push they need to move on to self-employment. The demands of traditionally male-dominated jobs, the positions that tend to be the most desirable and career relevant in organizations, did not coincide with the attributes believed to characterize women as a group, and consequently women are not expected to succeed in these positions (Heilman and Chen, 2003). This perception of lack of expectation in disadvantage groups is a perception associated with “lack of fit.”

The problem of perceived “lack of fit” regarding the attributes that are required to perform a job well and the attributes that are ascribed to individuals because of their group membership is relevant to those in minority groups’ organizational advancement. For example, certain aspects of the stereotypes of black Americans, such as being hostile, lazy, and unintelligent (Devine & Baker 1991; Niemann, et al. 1994; Oyserman & Sakamoto, 1997), and of Hispanics, such as being aggressive, present oriented, unambitious, and family oriented (Marin 1984, Dovidio et al. 1992), did not fit well with

the widely shared conception of the attributes required to succeed as a manager. In each case, bias is likely to result. This bias fosters the expectation that the individual who is a member of one of these groups will not be competent at fulfilling the responsibilities of an upper-level, corporate position (Heilman & Chen, 2003; Jones and Shorter-Gooden 2003; McKay and Wilson 2008). Similarly, this research seeks to understand if black advertising agency owners perceive that this “lack of fit” bias based on their consumer expertise impacts their ability to expand into areas beyond their expertise. Do potential clients have an expectation of incompetence in the particular area where they might want to expand their business? Clues regarding how expectations of incompetence could affect black owned advertising agencies’ new business opportunities are described below.

Expectations of workplace incompetence and the lure of business ownership

The expectations of incompetence that arise from perception of “lack of fit” have profound consequences on traditionally disadvantaged groups. They contributed to the “lost opportunities” effect described by Ilgen and Youtz (1986). That is, the perception of “lack of fit” limits women and minorities opportunities for plum projects, international assignments, or any risky opportunity that might not fit with their perceived personality based on group membership. Heilman and Chen (2003) suggested that the lure of entrepreneurship contains multiple elements of “lost opportunities escape.” When self-employed, lifestyle issues can be tailored to the needs of the business owner. As a business owner, biases in placement processes and performance evaluation are irrelevant.

Moreover, there is no corporate ladder to climb—the founder is at the top no matter how big or small the firm—so perceptions of internal relationships with others are not considered to be critical to success (Heilman and Chen 2003). Thus, many women and minority group members sought entrepreneurship as a route to success that bypasses the many obstacles that exist for them in corporate America (Heilman and Chen, 2003). However, the present research questions whether business ownership, and more specifically advertising agency ownership, countered these biases. Does ownership offer an opportunity for these biases to manifest themselves in vendor –client relationships? For example, as in the consumer market, even after controlling for the differences in creditworthiness and other factors that existed between black and white-owned firms, blacks are still about twice as likely to be denied credit. A similar analysis regarding interest rates charges to approved loans found black-owned firms pay higher interest rates as well. Finally, even these results are likely to under estimate differences in credit access because many potential black-owned firms are not in operation due to the lack of credit and those in business may be too afraid to apply. These results indicated that the racial disparity in credit availability is likely caused by discrimination (Blanchflower, Levine, and Zimmerman 2003). Though the disparity of business credit offered to black versus white owned firms is just one example, it shows how individual disparities can be similar and represented in business ownership as well. There are currently disparities regarding blacks and whites in management in the advertising industry overall. The present research sought to understand if those individual disparities are also represented in black owned advertising agencies' opportunities to expand beyond their expertise. This is as

important for black advertising agency owners as the struggle for equality in the overall industry has carried over from the 20th to the 21st century.

The diversity problem in the advertising industry

In 1965, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) filed charges with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission regarding the lack of hiring of black Americans in client facing roles. The NAACP believed that the lack of black Americans in management roles was represented both in the creative execution and in management. The NAACP felt this was a reflection of why derogatory black images persisted in advertising. Chambers (2008), “Even when pressed to present positive images of blacks, white advertisers and agency personnel were not supportive. Some protested that to depict positive images of blacks would offend white consumers and lead them to avoid the products advertised,” (Chambers, 2008, pg. 9). Others argued that white consumers would view positive images of blacks as a direct challenge to both white authority and obvious societal norms, and that such “social policy” stood outside of the role of advertisements. Marketers did not see blacks as a viable target and agencies kept blacks in menial jobs. As a result, marketers put no pressure on their agencies to be more diverse. Thus, for most of the 20th century, both advertisements and the advertising industry remained primarily white (Davis, 2002; Chambers, 2008).

Though the explanations for the lack of black representation in the advertising industry have evolved, little has changed. In 2004, The NAACP sent a letter to Procter & Gamble (P&G) Co. Chairman-CEO A. G. Lafley and 24 other marketers previously on

Advertising Age's Leading National Advertisers list asking that they "require their advertising agencies to use diverse teams in creative and account-management positions." Aside from P&G, letters went out many other Fortune 500 companies, which are listed in Table 2. The letter, from NAACP Interim General Counsel Angela Ciccolo, was sent in conjunction with the Madison Avenue Project, an effort by the NAACP and civil-rights attorney Cyrus Mehri to bring diversity to advertising agencies (Wheaton, 2009). The Madison Avenue Project Study: Research Perspectives on Race and Employment in the Advertising Industry illuminated the following key findings:

- About 16% of large establishments in the industry employ no black managers or professionals, a rate 60% higher than in the overall labor market (Bendick and Egan, 2009).
- Blacks are only 62% as likely as their white counterparts to work in advertising agencies' powerful "creative" and "client contact" functions, and only 10% as likely to hold a position paying \$100,000 or more per year (Bendick and Egan, 2009).

Disparities in advertising's management ranks are real. One of the ways that black advertising professionals overcame and continue to overcome these hurdles is by going into business for themselves.

Early black entrepreneurship in advertising

Due in large part to structural and perceived discrimination previously described, much of the culturally based advertising emerged under the dark shadow of racism-

especially black consumer marketing. Under Jim Crow Laws, enacted between 1876 (Civil War Reconstruction) and 1965 (Civil Rights Movement), blacks were marginalized in housing, shopping, employment opportunities, business ownership, voting, and a host of other civil rights privileges afforded to whites. These laws severely limited Black consumer participation in the marketplace. From a business ownership perspective, The Heuristic Model of the Theory of Economic Detour explains how Jim Crow laws marginalized black businesses into black ethnic enclaves limiting their access to prime locations and a broader customer base (Stuart 1940; Butler 1991). This “detour” is explained in steps outlined in Table 3.

As a result, Jim Crow slowed and effectively economically detoured much of the black business growth opportunities (Rhodes & Butler 2004). These laws, not only triggered black civil rights activists, but also ignited black entrepreneurship in advertising. The purpose of the black entrepreneurs was to carve out a place in an industry that was closed to them, to help to correct derogatory media representations of blackness in the United States, and to help legitimize black citizens as a viable consumer base for marketers (Davis 2002; Chambers 2009). The present research questions to what extent black advertising agencies owners attribute their business success or shortcomings to early black entrepreneurs in advertising. Do they feel that past success serves as a double-edged sword to their current business growth? On the one hand, early black entrepreneurs in advertising legitimized the black consumer market and carved out a place for black managers in the advertising industry. On the other hand, have early black

entrepreneurs pioneering efforts contributed to black owned agency stereotypes that make it more challenging to expand to other expertise?

Black entrepreneurship in advertising in the 21st century

The prior questions are important because the racial homophily business model-black owned advertising agency with expertise in the black consumer market-still exists in some form (Davis 2002; Chambers 2009). Additionally, black advertising agency owners who do not have a black consumer market expertise will be important to understand how this legacy may or may not impact their business. Either way, black advertising agency owners' role in the advertising industry is ever changing. "The future of African-American advertising agencies is as clear as a blank piece of paper," stated Ken Smikle, president of Target Market News, a Chicago-based marketing research firm that tracks black consumers.

In the past, creating advertising targeted to the black consumer was always a predictable business. However, as companies continue to see the value of this market, the entire industry is being turned on its head. Possible buyouts, untested joint ventures and the ever-changing media landscape have made the future anything but predictable (Hayes, 1999, p.1).

In 1999, the two largest black-owned firms, Burrell Communications at 173.9 million and Uniworld group at 160.4 million, were in serious talks to sell huge stakes of their business in exchange for more resources to help them better compete. Burrell sold a 49% stake to conglomerate Publics, while Uniworld was only in talks. While some condemned the sale of portions of black owned advertising agencies to white corporations, these partnerships have allowed the largest three companies to grow in

keeping with industry standards (Chambers, 2009). “In 2005, combined estimated revenue from the four largest black-owned firms—Global Hue, Carol H. Williams, Burrell Communications, and Uniworld—was more than double that of the next six black owned agencies combined. Of those four, only Carol H. Williams remains independent” (Chambers, 2009, p 271). These four firms employ 60% of black employees in advertising. They continue to service the black consumer market, but have also evolved their offerings to include urban lifestyle or multicultural marketing, as well as general marketing public relations, event planning, social media, web and other capabilities. However, while their expertise has expanded, have marketers been slower to acknowledge this change? The majority of their billings still come from black consumer marketing (Chambers, 2009). Could their historical expertise be a double-edged sword? On one hand, their expertise is studied and personal, on the other hand being black consumer experts may influence their lag (global polarization) in winning general market accounts (Davis 2002; Chambers, 2009). Though early black entrepreneurs in advertising and even older owners may have had to fight black stereotypes in the media, younger owners have likely had less of a fight as a result of the efforts of previous generations. The present research sought to understand how these generational differences impacted black advertising agency owners perceptions of how homophily is represented in their business and whether it served or suppressed new business opportunities. In order to become grounded in older and younger black agency owner differences, a broader discussion of the groups is offered below.

Age Cohort: 46-75 black advertising agency owners

This cohort was a part of a demographic surge that remodeled society as they grew up fighting for and some against women's rights, civil rights, immigrant rights and a host of other social movements that opened the door to a more multicultural America in the 20th century (United States Census Report, 2011).

Though more opportunities became available to them, many of them held off entrepreneurship until their later years to improve their financial security. Unlike their parents, this cohort enjoyed less economic security than their parents. Manufacturing and other heavy industry related careers lessened. This group saw significant change in United States society from an industrial to knowledge-based economy. Midway through their careers, technology companies went from fantasy to reality. By the Millennium, the greed of irresponsible leadership saw the depletion of pensions that they once thought would provide a leisurely retirement (Soutar & Walker, 2004; Lusardi & Mitchell 2007). Entrepreneurship is not just about a second chance at a new career; it is about survival. For older black advertising entrepreneurs, it was about taking a potentially lucrative opportunity into relatively uncharted territory.

A small number of black Americans worked in advertising as early as the 1940s and founded their own agencies in the 1950s. Early leadership laid a foundation for some of today's notable older black American leaders such as Byron Lewis (Uniworld Group), Tom Burrell (Burrell Communications), Carol H. Williams (Carol H. Williams), and Donald A. Coleman (GlobalHue). In 1969, Byron Lewis, with the help of venture capitalists, founded UniWorldGroup to market to blacks and Latinos, who together

equaled only 16 percent of the United States population at the time. By 1995, UniWorld was running some national general-market accounts, including M&M/Mars 3 Musketeers. Current clients include Ford, Burger King and Home Depot (Chambers, 2009; Black Enterprise, 2011). Tom Burrell founded Burrell McBain Advertising, which became Burrell Communications, and landed McDonald's and Coca-Cola as clients. Originally, the agency focused on the black consumer market, but has evolved to general and young urban marketing as well. Current clients include Toyota, P&G and 3M. Burrell retired, in 2003, as chairman emeritus is a member of the Advertising Hall of Fame (Chambers, 2009; Black Enterprise, 2011). In 1986, Carol Williams, from Chicago's South Side, founded Carol H. Williams Advertising. Fourteen years earlier Williams, while still an advertising intern, had created the Secret antiperspirant campaign "Strong enough for a man, but made for a woman." Carol H. Williams is the nation's largest independent female-owned black communications agency. The agency's clients include the United States Army, General Mills, Nationwide Insurance and Walt Disney World (Chambers, 2009; Black Enterprise, 2011). In 1988, former NFL player Don A. Coleman, who had worked for Burrell, started his own company. After buying a firm targeting Latinos and Asians, Coleman founded GlobalHue. In 2010 the full-service multicultural advertising and marketing agency had billings of \$839 million and clients that included the United States Navy, Subway and Verizon (Chambers, 2009; Black Enterprise, 2011). These older owners have helped to lay the foundation for younger adult advertising agency owners.

Age Cohort: 25-45 Black advertising agency owners

The age cohort comprising of 25-45 year olds, thanks to previous cohorts' civil and immigration rights efforts, are an ethnically diverse group (Tulgan 2000). Most are without the memories or experiences of such laws as Jim Crow. As a result they may also bear less burden of an unequal past. Additionally, this cohort may have been able to take advantage of new technologies that have opened the door to new market opportunities. E-companies represent the fastest growing business sector since the Telecommunications Act of 1996, partly because it is easy to develop an online business and legally less rigorous than to establish a real-site business (Ngwainmbi 2005). For this reason, some of the past "costs of entry" are somewhat diminished.

Younger black advertising agency owners had more benefit of parents and or close mentors who were able to initiate them into the advertising industry than their older cohort counter parts (Chambers 2009). Some younger black advertising agency owners continue the legacy of multicultural advertising while others are carving new paths in lifestyle marketing and social media (McCoy 2011; Black Enterprise 2011). Notable young black advertising agency owners include Spike Lee, Steve Stoute, Faith Morris, and Coltrane Curtis (McCoy, 2011; Black Enterprise 2011).

In 1996, movie producer director, writer and actor Spike Lee established an urban-market agency, SpikeDDB, in a partnership with general market firm DDB Needham. In 2010, General Motors' Chevrolet chose the agency to provide ads for the black consumer market. This contract was worth more than \$40 million (McCoy, 2011; Black Enterprise 2011).

Steve Stoute is the Chief Executive Officer of Translation Advertising a marketing and branding agency and just published *The Tanning of America* about the hip-hop-ization of the nation (Stoute 2012). Stoute, whose clients include Reebok and McDonald's is also Jay-Z's marketing partner. Translation is creating the campaign for the New Jersey Nets' move to Brooklyn, N.Y. Translation also remixed State Farm's jingle into a hit song (McCoy, 2011; Black Enterprise 2011).

Faith Morris founded Merge Consumer Marketing, an outgrowth of her father's firm-OwensMorris Communications. Merge Consumer Marketing opened in 2006. Merge is a full-service marketing agency that provides a range of services, including advertising, media planning and buying, public relations and television production. Morris said that her firm would use consumer insights to reach beyond ethnicity to address the ways people interacted in a blended society (McCoy, 2011; Black Enterprise 2011).

Coltrane Curtis, founder and creative director of social media branding firm Team Epiphany considers himself an influencer, not an innovator. His company's motto is "We influence influencers." His clients include Timberland, Sony BMG, Interscope, Pepsi, and Yahoo. He previously worked at Marc Ecko Enterprises. He was the recipient of the 2010 AdColor Innovator Award. His father ran a small black consumer market firm in New York in the 1980s and 1990s. Coltrane credits his father with providing his foundational marketing knowledge (McCoy, 2011; Black Enterprise 2011).

In general, this sample of younger black owners' agencies may have more of a lifestyle consumer focus, than a multicultural or black consumer focus like their older

counterparts. However, this means that the dominate homophily in the younger owners' agency may be lifestyle rather than race. The present research sought to understand how these different types of homophily impacted older and younger owners' perceptions of growth opportunities differently.

The complexities of advertising agency stability and growth

Though they may have different focuses and experiences, what older and younger cohort advertising agency business owners have in common is that they want to keep their business current. Whether growth or stability is the goal, advertising agencies consistently seek new client opportunities to ward off the inevitable loss of clients that could be based on performance, a change in marketing management, or some combination of both (Jones, 1999; Davies and Melvin 2005).

-----**Insert Figure 1 about here**-----

The business life cycle includes the start-up, growth, maturity, and decline phases. See figure 1. However, decline may not be inevitable. An aspect of maturity offers innovation and renewal, which involve either expanding offerings, entering a new niche or both (Ward 1997; Naldi et. al, 2007). Innovation and renewal may be challenging for older firm leads because once relied upon personal and business building beliefs may not be as useful as the overall business environment evolves. Additionally, maturing markets, intensifying competition, and changing technology can prove daunting. However, wisdom and experience can serve as a buffer for those shortcomings. Younger firm leads have the boost of being able to take advantage of new technologies, thereby capitalizing

or even creating new markets. However, lack of experience and market exposure may make it difficult to weather storms that their older counterparts have previously experienced and conquered. Both older and younger firms can benefit from a diverse support staff and partners to balance experience and take advantage of new opportunities (Ward 1997; Naldi et. al, 2007). However, for black advertising agency owners, diversity may not be enough. The present research questions under investigation seek to understand how homophily serves or suppresses relationship marketing opportunities and how those results impact their overall growth.

Chapter 3: Methods

Qualitative research methods are often the most appropriate methodology when the goal of the research is to understand the meanings that individuals give to their actions rather than to predict their behavior (Braybrooke 1965). Field based approaches such as in-depth interviews are useful when trying to gather personal reflections such as beliefs, values, and opinions. Scholarly research related to management issues in advertising, and further black entrepreneurs in advertising, is limited. As such, in-depth interviews are particularly helpful for their flexibility and ability to capture rich and complex information. As a result, this method can provide an excellent foundation for new research territory as new concepts can be revealed and further studied in future research (Rubin and Rubin 1995; Marshall and Rossman 2006; Creswell 2009).

Since black entrepreneurs in advertising were interviewed, the in-depth interviews conducted can be classified as “elite interviews. “Elite” does not necessarily mean someone of high social, economic, or political standing; the term indicates a person who is chosen by name or position for a particular reason, rather than randomly or anonymously which is common in other forms of research. For example, the present research is more concerned with the advertising producer rather than the consumer (Dexter 1970). Differing from highly structured interviews, elite interviews are structured to consider the decision makers’ view of a particular phenomenon, what it means to them, and what they consider most important. The main purpose of elite interviews is to capture information and context that only that person can provide. Respondents are encouraged to define the situation in question and provide their

definitions of phenomena. In this way, respondents provide the frame through which findings are revealed. Elite interviews are especially useful when the following types of questions are under investigation: How did he or she explain and justify his/her own behavior? What did the person remember of how others behaved, and why? How did the person understand and explain event or process? What succeeded or failed, from that person's point of view? (Dexter 1970; Strauss 1990; Schwartzman 1993; Miles and Huberman 1994). Additionally, the principle researcher self-identifies as a black American. This is important to note, as it is widely known that interview success largely depends on the degree at which there is a sense of ease and comfort between the interviewer and the interviewee. This is especially true when considering sensitive topics such as race (Levkoff Levy and Weitzman 2000).

Interview Protocol

The interview protocol (See Appendix: Interview Protocol) was developed with five marketing and advertising professors of which three also have expertise in African-American studies, one professor who specializes in management and entrepreneurship, and one professor who specializes in social anthropology. It was pretested in personal interviews with four black American, executive-level, advertising agency employees. The following descriptions represent the pretest participants' roles within their agencies: one executive creative director at a general market agency, one account planning director and one senior account executive at a general market agency, one account planning director, and one executive creative director at an agency that primarily produces black consumer advertising. The pretests were conducted from October 2012 to November 2012. In

keeping with the accepted practice of elite interviewing, most questions were broad and open ended to allow informants to define the situation (Spiggle 1994; Thompson 1997). The interview protocol was designed to prompt respondents toward what Wallendorf and Brucks (1993 p. 341) called “guided introspection.” Guided introspection is where a sample (large or small) of respondents is asked to examine their own conscious thoughts and feelings. This is usually done so orally.

For the respondents, the topics covered issues that were easily accessible and did not require them to provide any specific clients or dates as to reduce harm. The interview protocol focused on issues related to identity and self-perception, internal business networks, external business networks, and relationship marketing. Additionally, the interview protocol questions asked respondents to consider the successes and challenges they encountered personally and as business owners in advertising. Finally, respondents were able to reflect on the evolution of their business from its inception to present day, and how they see their business evolving in the future. These issues were important in order to first understand how respondents articulated different aspects of homophily, how those different aspects of homophily impacted their evolution into entrepreneurship, and ultimately how those different aspects of homophily served or suppressed the respondents’ relationship marketing opportunities as a result.

Data Collection

The informants reside primarily in Los Angeles, CA; El Paso, TX; Austin, TX; Dallas, TX; Chicago, IL; and New York City, NY. Since the particular community of black American entrepreneurs in advertising is small, more specific identifying

information like specific location and age were not provided in the respondent table in order to help protect their identities (see Table 4). There were ten respondents per cohort. A cohort is a group who has shared particular event(s) together over a particular time span (Creswell 2009). For the purpose of this research, the age cohort noted as 25-45 is “younger.” There were six males and four females in the younger age cohort. The age cohort that is noted as 46 to 75 is “older.” and there were seven males and three females in this cohort. Five or more respondents per respondent group could represent exhaustion in that after five, similar themes will begin to emerge (Spiggle 1994). As a result, this research interviewed twice as many respondents recommended per respondent group to ensure broad opportunity for theme development.

Every respondent in the younger age cohort started his or her career in general market advertising. Five of the younger respondents chose to pursue entrepreneurship in general market advertising, and five chose to pursue entrepreneurship in black consumer advertising. Four of the older cohort members started their careers in general market advertising, and six started in black consumer advertising. All members of the older cohort chose to pursue entrepreneurship in black consumer advertising. None of the respondents in the older cohort pursued advertising agency entrepreneurship in the general market.

The number of employees in each company ranges from five to 500. Revenues are between \$6 million and \$180 million dollars. The years that the respondents started their business ranged from the early 1960s to the late 2000s. Older cohort members

started their businesses between 1960 and 1989. Younger cohort members started their businesses between 1990 and 2009.

Comparing age cohorts is important to this research as the 20th century brought significantly more inclusive changes with regard to labor and business ownership rights for women and ethnic minorities in the United States. As a result, comparing the two cohorts revealed some important differences in perceptions of opportunities and homophily as it relates to their businesses, which will be discussed later in this paper. Still, the phenomenological aspect of these interviews helped to reveal these differences. The interviews were phenomenological in that the owner provided his or her particular perception of the occurrence in question. As Thompson, et al. (1990) explained:

The goal of a phenomenological interview is to attain a first-person description of some specified domain of experience. The respondent largely sets the course of the dialogue. The dialogue tends to be circular rather than linear; the descriptive questions employed by the interviewer flow from the course of the dialogue and not from a predetermined path. The interview is intended to yield a conversation, not a question and answer session (p. 138).

In order to source respondents, the principle researcher utilized her advertising agency contacts that she gained working as an account planner in advertising prior to her doctoral studies. Additionally, the principle researcher sourced respondents utilizing snowball sampling. The principle researcher's initial contacts provided additional respondents outside of her original network. This is important because random sampling is not recommended for in-depth elite interviews (Spiggle 1994; Thompson 1997).

The principle researcher conducted ten, 60 to 90-minute, elite, in-depth interviews per age cohort. Anonymity and confidentiality were promised to all respondents and their respective organizations. Each member of both the older cohort (46-75) and the younger cohort (25-45) were interviewed separately between December 2012 and May 2013. Seven of the ten older age cohort members were able to be reached for a 10-minute follow-up telephone interview in April-May 2013 to get their opinions about a key theme that was initially only being revealed in the younger cohort.

To save travel and lodging costs, some of the interviews outside of the principle researcher's locale were conducted via Skype or over the telephone. Skype is a video web conferencing platform that allows two-way synchronous visual communication that offers a secure login as well as audio recording. Eight of the ten respondents in the younger age cohort were interviewed over Skype, and two were conducted in person. None of the younger cohort members' interviews were conducted over telephone. Five out of the 10 of the interviews with the 46-75 year old age cohort were conducted over Skype; five were conducted over the telephone. Though many of the interviews were conducted over Skype, all of the interviews were audio recorded only as per the written consent of the respondent. Video was not captured. Only the investigators heard the audio recordings or saw the transcripts. Respondents were also informed that at any time, they could decide not to answer any question or stop the interview. Though interviews were conducted via Skype, telephone or in-person, all interviews were audio recorded and transcribed from the audio only to ensure transcript comparability (Opdenakker 2006).

Analysis

Once the interview audio was captured, it was transcribed by the researcher or sent out for professional transcription. Next, the transcribed text was analyzed using the grounded theory methodology. The principle researcher first read the transcribed text and made notes by hand regarding possible themes. Member checks were then completed with 15 respondents in the form of follow-up interviews to confirm what they said in their earlier interview was accurately captured. Next, the transcribed text was imported into qualitative data analysis software-Atlas.ti. Based on the hand notes, the principle researcher marked the transcribed text with a sequence of codes in the software as they emerged. Within Atlas.ti, the codes were first organized into multiple homophily-related codes that reflected the interview protocol. Unexpected insights were also coded as they emerged as patterns in the responses. Lastly, these codes were organized into four closely related topic areas. From those topic areas, subsequent themes were formed that revealed the key findings reported later in this dissertation (Charmaz 2006).

Computer assisted qualitative data analysis accelerated the grounded theory technique used to analyze text (Coffey & Atkinson 1996). In keeping with this technique, Atlas.ti allowed for the emergence and comparison of themes in real time. Codes for themes can be constantly assigned as the text is reviewed. Additionally, codes can also be constantly revised and linked.

Limitations

The sample was overwhelming male in both groups. The women interviewed per group nearly equaled the representative (34%) amount of senior management jobs held by women in the advertising industry (Klassen 2011). Still, a gender-focused study could uncover specific insights that may be overshadowed by the dominant male response.

Limitations of conducting cyberspace interviews are similar and different to those conducted offline. Asking respondents to recall certain situations or phenomenon introduced potential bias as the interviewer is relying on the memory of the respondent, which could be skewed (Madge and O'Connor 2002). With recording online interviews, technical difficulties may arise in. However, if the interviewer is physically present, he or she may be able to adjust for slight lapses in technology. On the other hand, a completely web based interview relies heavily on the technology to capture the discussion (Madge and O'Connor 2002). As a result, in addition to recording, the principle research took hand notes as a back up to the audio recordings.

Though Skype was a useful technology to be able to simulate an in person interview without the travel costs, most of the older cohort members were not as comfortable with this technology. As a result, many of their interviews needed to be conducted over the phone. As previously mentioned, recording and analyzing the captured data in the same manner helped to alleviate comparability issues. Additionally, many of the respondents' comments were cohort based and stark enough that the difference in technology did not overshadow the findings. Still, in support of using technology in social sciences research, there has been rapid growth in the number of

people 50 years of age and older living in the United States and utilizing computers. Similarly, use of computers, including computer-mediated communication (e.g., electronic mail and instant messaging), has risen dramatically in recent years and is expected to continue to rise overall (Stark-Wroblewski Edelbaum and Ryan 2007). As a result, future researchers should continue to pursue the use of computer mediated technology to conduct qualitative interviews with similarly situated executives. The distance between younger and older age cohort technology comfort will continue to shrink.

In general, because some judgment is required when analyzing this type of data (Dexter 1970), there is the major concern that the findings will be based on the principle researcher's personal feelings or opinions. In order to guard against this, initial analyses and codes were shared and reviewed with the co-investigators. Findings were identified and agreed upon. Additionally, the use of quotes adds objectivity as well as transparency in meaning interpretation. Respondents' quotes were used in abundance, and they are representative of what was expressed by several respondents. As acknowledged above, anonymity was granted to all respondents to help reduce biases related to social desirability as well as potential backlash from clients, vendor partners, former employees or current employees. Finally, the black entrepreneurs in advertising who participated in this research may not be representative of the total population. But, they did vary in areas significant to the research questions such as age, consumer expertise, workplace experiences, and reasons for entrepreneurial pursuits in advertising (see Table 4). This is in keeping with one of the goals of qualitative research, which is to portray the breath and

depth of the phenomena is important to developing theory (Dexter 1970; Creswell 2009). Overall, the outcomes of a qualitative investigation provided explanatory insights only and cannot be generalized to the broader population. Therefore, it is important that the findings of this research be reported in a way that is specific to the respondents' comments rather than generalized to the entire population of black entrepreneurs in advertising.

Chapter 4: Findings

Recall that homophily is the tendency of individuals or networks to associate and bond with similar others (McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook, 2001). The respondents were selected on the basis of homophily—black advertising agency owners. As a result, the findings reflected the perceptions of homophily among a “homophilous” group and the different contexts in which homophily affects their advertising agencies. The black advertising agency owners’ responses represent not only their perceived experiences as advertising entrepreneurs, but also their perceived experiences as black Americans representing two age cohorts (25-45 and 46-75). Their unique perspectives were represented in their answers to the following research questions previously presented:

1. How did black advertising agency owners perceive homophily or "sameness" in their business? For instance, did they perceive homophily to be based on racial, psychographic, gender, personality, culture, and/or religion?
2. How did they perceive this homophily serving (e.g., more qualified applicants, improved new business wins, industry awards) or suppressing (e.g., limited request for proposals, not invited to participate in certain-potentially lucrative business networks, limited growth from current client business, not being invited to pitch certain business) their business?
3. What type of homophily affected their business the most?

4. How was homophily perceived differently between older (46-75) and younger (25-45) black advertising agency owners?

Recall that the interview protocol (See Appendix: Interview Protocol) focused on issues related to identity and self-perception, internal business networks, external business networks and relationship marketing. Each one of the research questions listed above was represented in each section of the interview protocol. This allowed for individual responses to be revealed as well age cohort comparison.

In response to question one, respondents' conceptualizations of homophily as it relates to their business are summarized in Table 5: Respondent conceptualizations of homophily as it relates to their business. Some homophily conceptualizations the respondents provided included race, values, personality, and entrepreneurial spirit. In response to question two, surprisingly racial homophily suppressed relationship marketing opportunities, while client-agency business goal alignment and other non race-based contexts served relationship marketing opportunities. Surprisingly respondents did not perceive that their race held them back from general market work opportunities. They attributed any general market deficiencies largely to their own choices.

In response to question three, there were multiple homophily contexts that served their business. However, the dual perspective of values homophily as client-agency alignment in ad agency service value, and agency-employee values homophily was important to the success of their business.

In response to question four, the largest difference between the age cohorts was related to prioritizing racial homophily as it relates mentoring. Younger respondents (25-

45) desired black advertising executives as mentors. Older respondents (46-75) did not prioritize mentoring younger black advertising executives.

As a result of the interviewees' responses briefly described above, this chapter reports more broadly the four major topics with supporting themes that emerged from the data. The first topic refers to different aspects of homophily as they relate to relationship marketing. The second topic refers to homophily as it relates to the pursuit and development of the respondents' businesses. The first two topics are related to business-to-business issues. The third topic refers to values homophily as it relates to employee-to-organization fit. This topic is specifically related to employee hiring. The fourth topic refers to how respondents related homophily to mentoring.

Homophily as it relates to relationship marketing

Task bonding strengthens current client relationships

As noted in the literature review, structural bonding or “task bonding” is based on some mutually beneficial economic, strategic, technological, and/or organizational objective. In social bonding, individuals are bonded together via organizational members' personal and social relationships with their counterparts. Previous literature suggests that both task and social bonding are important variables in business relationships success (Williams, Han, and Qualls 1998). However, these respondents prioritized utilizing task bonding to build stronger current client relationships. In this way, respondents described task bonding in the following manner: ensuring a values-match and ensuring business goals alignment. As a result, a track record of task bonding can help to defend the agency's position in the event of a client review.

Value homophily was important to successful agency-client relationships. Both age cohorts, regardless of their expertise, expressed the importance of a value homophily between their agency and their clients. Respondents felt that advertising, and by extension advertising professionals, had a reputation of being the “cool kids” in marketing. According to respondents, the cool kids were fashion forward, creative, talented, likable, and bit defiant. However, they felt that these cool kid characteristics were not necessarily aligned with those of an astute business partner. According to the respondents, advertising’s cool kid reputation was also attached to their business being reduced to those who simply make brands pretty. As a result, they said they have worked hard to ensure that their understanding of the value of their capabilities and their client’s understanding were aligned. The following quote was characteristic of all of the respondents regardless of age cohort or expertise.

Recently, I went with the team to present some new campaign ideas to the client. The new CMO was going to be present, so I really wanted to be there to support the team. When we were going over the work as a team, we wanted to make sure everyone was prepared to answer specific questions about how our ideas were going to help move the sales needle for their brand. But, when we got there, the new CMO said, “Everyone, the cool people have arrived, let’s see what creative genius they’ve brought us.” After getting to know him, I realized he was sincere, but this concept of “the cool people” versus “the business partner” is something that I’ve been trying to overcome throughout my career. (Linda 46-75)

Respondents felt that it was nice to be considered cool, but it was more important to be respected for the business value that advertising has brought to the client’s brands. They said that it was not enough for them or the brand to have appeared engaging, but the

agency and therefore the brand had to deliver results. For these respondents, putting cool second helped them to build solid relationships and grow as a business.

Task bonding as it relates to homophily in business goals to be achieved was also present. The following quote was characteristic of all of the respondents regardless of age cohort or consumer expertise. When respondents were able to help their clients clearly articulate the pressures they faced internally with regard to the brand's performance, it helped to align the agencies objectives with the clients.'

I always want know what about my clients' work keeps them up at night. This way, when I'm pitching an idea, I can speak directly to their internal concerns. I understand the pressures from their boss and CEO, even shareholders if it's a public company. You see, you always want to present your self as a business partner-Phil (46-75)

All agreed that the number one way they have grown their business was with current clients. Although answering requests for proposals (RFPs) from marketers was important to helping them manage the agency's overall growth, leveraging current client trust and client side contacts was key to incremental growth. They also reported that clients who were their advocates inside their company were their voice when they were not present. Task bonding as it relates to homophily in business goals ensured that measurements of success were clear and allowed the agencies to be able to take more calculated creative risk with regard to brand campaigns. The most creative campaign executions, as they described them, met or exceed the stated business objectives. However, they also generated trade awards and consumer interest that elevated the public profile of the brand and the agency that created the work.

Task bonding as it relates to homophily helped to defend the agency's position. As clients advance in their careers, many change firms. Respondents agreed that if a strong, task orientated relationship with a client was built; the client would work to try to bring their favorite agencies along with them. The following quote was characteristic of both age cohorts regardless of expertise:

"I've gotten a couple of major pieces of new business from former clients who have left one company and gone to another without even having to deal with the pitch process. New business doesn't happen like this often, but when it does...it can really happen big. That's why relationships are so important. There's lots of politics that happens both inside the client's business that can effect the client's future with the company and also their agencies of record that unfortunately...doesn't always have to do with performance. In this case, where you might lose business with one company, you could pick it up with another because it's the same client." (Pete, 46-75)

According to the respondents, the new business "pitch process" was a systematic, task oriented way of selecting new advertising agencies of record. An agency review could take on a similar process, but was used to evaluate a current agency's working relationship with the firm. The respondents stated that a review could be as simple as turning in an expected annual report of accomplishments and places for improvement. A review, or open review, could also be competitive in that other agencies are brought in to compete for the business.

According to the respondents, pitches and open reviews were typically led by a third party search consulting firm that the client hired to help them source potential agencies. A more recent phenomenon was the inclusion of a client firm procurement specialist actively involved in the overall process. These specialists were outside of the

marketing function and were an arm of the accounting department. Their purpose was to put a critical eye on agency fees, payment structures, and advertising return on investment. Respondents said that procurement involvement in reviews as well as cementing client ties in case the client exits his or her company showed why homophily in the perception of business goals to be achieved was so important. The task bonding with clients helped to secure their relationship and could also help the agency to successfully defend its position should its contract come up for review.

Homophily as it relates to social bonding helps build new relationships

While task bonding was important to maintaining client relationships, social bonding was important when it came to sourcing new business opportunities. Social bonding was accomplished by engaging in the same organizations as marketing and advertising decision makers and trade influencers like the American Marketing Association, the American Association of Advertising Agencies, the Direct Marketing Association and the Small Business Association. Regardless of age cohort or expertise, respondents agreed that it was important for them to get involved in their local and national marketing, advertising, and other client-related business communities. By participating in panel discussions, serving on committees and other volunteer activities, they had an opportunity to soft sell potential new business stakeholders. These new business stakeholders could include current or potential clients, trade publication journalist and search consultants. Within these environments, respondents said they were able to present best practices and agency related case studies. For them, the soft sell

meant that these business environments offered a low-pressure opportunity to boast about their expertise. The following quote was typical of all of the respondents:

One time, I was sitting on some panel about the future of advertising and I was giving all kinds of smart insights. It got good coverage in the trades, but there was also a pretty powerful search consultant in the audience who didn't even know my little agency existed. She came up to me after the panel, let me know she was really impressed, and wanted to know more. We built a relationship from there. Our agency got some really great opportunities from her group. (Natasha 25-45)

All respondents agreed that homophily in business networking activities was important to agency branding and meeting potential new business stakeholders.

Respondents stressed that it was important to make time for these activities even as client business persisted. Respondents felt that, in general, advertising agencies would use much of their expertise to support clients and leave little for themselves to support their own business building needs. They felt that as the leaders of their organizations, it was up to them to ensure their agency stayed connected to appropriate local and national business communities to stay visible.

Racial homophily suppresses more than it serves

While all respondents agreed that relevant local and national business outreach was the backbone of relationship marketing success, eight of the ten respondents in the younger age cohort (25-45) felt that they experienced the most difficulty in building and sustaining business-to-business relationships with black clients in marketing and advertising whom they described as their parent's age. The respondents described their

parent's age range as 55-75. This was surprising as Tajfel et. al, (1971) might expect the opposite given the theoretical notion of in-group favoritism previously described.

The following quote was characteristic of the younger cohort members who sought to supply their services to seasoned black clients whether the potential clients owned their own agency or worked in a marketing capacity at another firm.

I grew up around the black advertising agency people and owners since my mom was in the business. I sat at the dinner with the people who started agencies in like the 60s and 70s. I admired them a lot. It was cool. They were like extended family to me. That's why, when I started my business online, I was excited to share with them all of my new capabilities. But at my first meeting, they pretty much smiled, nodded, patted me on my head, and told me to run along. And, they made me buy lunch. It's like they didn't take me seriously as a business owner. That next week, I took the same presentation to a white owned agency in L.A. They got what I was trying to do, and they bought me lunch. (David 25-45)

Throughout his interview, David was quite articulate, clear, and concise. However, when he arrived at this point of the interview, his voice was hesitant and shaky. He was unnerved. David described five separate, yet similar rejections from what he described as his "own people." He noted that when he was growing up, his parents prepared him for race-based rejection. Given the history of black Americans' struggle for civil and labor rights in the United States, David said that his parents warned him that non-black people may reject him because of the color of his skin versus his character or skill. However, if he experienced such rejection, he should not let that deter him from his goals. He said that he was not prepared for the type of in-group rejection he described. He said he felt like a toddler being shooed away from the grown-up table at Thanksgiving versus being treated like a professional. He said he could have accepted the backlash if

he had been prepared for it. However, to take the same presentation to a white owned advertising agency and succeed was both gratifying and heartbreaking.

Only two respondents in the age cohort 46-75 were shocked to hear of the younger cohort's assertion of in-group discrimination. Seven out of ten respondents in the 46-75 year old age cohort had heard of such in-group discrimination, but they felt that this type of in-group discrimination within the black community in advertising was indicative of a larger problem of black businesses not supporting black businesses. They described the black inferiority narrative as one that suggests race determines human aptitude and that people who are identified as black are inherently inferior to whites. As previously mentioned, black Americans are often depicted in the media as athletes or entertainers. Because of these popular, yet limiting definitions, group members may experience the dominant culture as unwilling to welcome them in as individuals who can successfully participate in a range of social and career opportunities (Taylor, et al. 1995). Further, common African-American stereotypes portrayed in the media reflect deviance, violence and laziness versus broader depictions of whites (McKay and Wilson 2008).

This group of respondents felt that these stereotypes that are attached to black people in the media extend to their businesses as McKay and Wilson (2008) suggested. Additionally, they felt that this negative narrative is so deeply rooted that black people themselves are not immune to this negative narrative despite theoretically knowing better. For them, this notion of black inferiority is steeped in United States history and extends itself to black-owned businesses, historically black colleges and universities, and non-profits for example. They felt that the black inferiority narrative has permeated every

aspect of the black experience and is exacerbated in the media. For black advertisers and marketers in the older age cohort, this is ironic since older respondents to the present research revealed that reversing broader black stereotypes and perceptions is at the heart of why they pursued a career in advertising. McKay and Wilson (2008) suggested out-group members would be the likely perpetrators of such judgments based on the identity of the business owner. However, this research suggested that in-group members can be just as culpable.

Racial homophily and the expectation of discounted services

Younger respondents reported that older black clients demand in-group entitlement discounts. The respondents described in-group entitlement discounts as an aspect of in-group rejection. In this case, their business is selected by an in-group member (a Black client) to service their business. However, the client requests, demands, or expects significantly discounted or free services based solely on in-group membership. In this case, if in-group members sought an in-group service provider, in-group members suspicions and mistrust of in-group members prompted them to require extra services, in-group or “family” discounts, and perks, that they would not expect to receive or ask of dominate group (white) business owners (Phar 1997).

In-group entitlement discounts were a phenomenon experienced by nine of the ten respondents in the younger age cohort (25-45) and four of the ten respondents in the older age cohort (46-75). It was as if these clients did not feel their services were worth their full price, which resembled an aspect of in-group rejection. Members of both age cohorts felt that they would not make such demands of a similarly situated white owned

advertising agency. Both groups of respondents experienced the in-group entitlement discounts phenomenon from the same cohort---people aged 55-75. The older respondents stated that their black contemporaries expected in-group entitlement discounts. Younger cohort members stated that it was black clients their parent's age. Respondents who belonged to the younger cohort (25-45) stated that older clients would prime them with guilt. Their clients would mention that they reminded them of their son or daughter, nephew or in some cases—grandchild. These clients may have informed younger respondents of their early career struggles fighting blatant discrimination and being proud of paving the way for the younger age cohort. They would also remind the younger age cohort members that their sacrifices deserved respect. The guilt was used as a tool to help return the desired discount. Still, younger age cohort members felt blindsided by the guilt that their older black clients tried to evoke. Older respondents (46-75) who experienced black clients expecting racial homophily entitlement discounts were not surprised because it was something that they had experienced from their age cohort their entire careers. The following quote was typical of older respondents:

Back in the day there were barely any of us (blacks) doing marketing or advertising. The one's doing marketing never got any budget. And the ones who were starting up agencies were just scrapping to get by. You used to have kind of barter and hustle to get anything. You think the banks were handing out business loans to Negroes? Please. But, that doesn't mean that some folks don't try to take advantage. I guess old habits die-hard. Anyway, I just tell them no if they try it and be done with it. You gotta know your worth! (Michael-46-75)

Respondents like Michael described the “bartering of services” as a business survival technique that his age cohort members engaged in to stay afloat. Without the

experience that respondents like Michael described, younger respondents (25-45), were not prepared for this type of in-group discrimination and struggled with balancing the needs of their business with expectations that they honor their elders. Regardless of their expertise, members of both age cohorts agreed that standing firm on their agencies' capabilities and value ensured that they make the right client partnership decisions for their businesses regardless of racial, cultural, or any other group affiliation.

Much of what respondents have reported thus far stressed the importance of homophily in the business value of advertising services and homophily in business expectations as it relates to current clients. Gaining new clients meant participating and being visible in the same industry organizations. According to respondents, it was clear that racial homophily on its own was less helpful as it related to maintaining and growing their business from a client relationship building standpoint. Still, for those respondents whose businesses primarily focus on black consumer advertising, opportunities for growth were both personally and professionally complicated.

Homophily as it relates to the pursuit of entrepreneurship in advertising

A mission orientation refers to respondents, who identified as black American, and chose the black consumer homophily as the primary driver of their agency expertise not only for profits, but to also improve the media representations of black Americans in general. They struggled to expand their businesses beyond the black consumer market because doing so could take them further away from their mission. Respondents with a business orientation may or may not have black consumer market expertise, but are not opposed to expanding their expertise beyond the black consumer market homophily in

order to capitalize on viable growth opportunities. Regardless of the respondents' orientation, all of the respondents who started in general market agencies experienced discrimination in the form of black glass ceilings, which encouraged their exit.

A mission orientation slows the pursuit of work outside the consumer homophily

For those respondents in both age cohorts whose main source of revenue has come from black consumer advertising expertise, the decision to take on more general market work was more complicated than considering more revenue streams. This decision was at the heart of their identity. Carl's quote was representative of five of the ten respondents aged 46-75. It is important to note that the main line of business for all respondents in the older cohort was centered on the black consumer market:

At the general market agency where I started, either my competence was constantly being questioned to my face or I was being shut out of social opportunities like parties that led to promotions for others. Today, I could do more general market work. I tried for some and lost more than I've won. I've gone over this a bit. If I'm all about general market, what does that say about my business? What does it say about me? Am I abandoning everything I started out to do? (Carl 46-75)

For respondents like Carl, going after general market work was not just about making a sound business decision, it was also an issue of identity. These respondents took up a black consumer advertising business model because they saw a lucrative opportunity as well as a way to diminish negative black stereotypes in the media during a time of intense civil rights struggle in The United States. A similar identity struggle existed with respondents in the 25-45 year old age cohort who had black consumer expertise as a primary source of revenue. Karen's quote is characteristic of those

similarly situated in age and expertise. Five out of the ten respondents in Karen's age cohort said that their main line of business is centered on the black consumer market.

I'm working with a rebranding company right now to think about new directions for my company. I do primarily focus on black consumers, and this is mostly because I realized these stories weren't being told. But here's the struggle...we're doing good as a business, but I could be doing more to expand. I could easily do more general market work, but does that mean I'm selling out? I struggle with that because I am my company and my company is me. I'm worried I'll get lost in trying to make more money. It really is a struggle. (Karen 25-45)

In the 1960s, Carl saw an opportunity to help elevate the black populations' media representation from the poor field hand to the middle class and affluent in the mind of marketers. In the early 2000s, Karen saw an opportunity to help marketers connect with the steady growth of Hip Hop culture and urban tastemakers to renew their brands.

For respondents like Carl and Karen, the push toward entrepreneurship in advertising was tied to the mission of helping to improve the overall presentation of black Americans in the media by providing a fuller depiction of black American life through advertising. In Carl and Karen's statements, expanding out of the racial consumer group homophily was in question. Respondents like Carl and Karen's mission orientation was not only tied to their business, but also to their personal identity as black consumer experts. Rhodes and Butler (2010), previously suggested that family businesses must advanced outside of the family homophily with regard to consumers and employees in order to grow. In the present research, this mission orientation complicated many of the respondents' ability to advance beyond the black consumer racial homophily in order to grow.

A business orientation seeks work outside the consumer homophily

Not all respondents shared this business versus personal identity struggle. The following quote is characteristic of the remaining five of the 46-75 year old respondents who do not share the sentiments of respondents like Carl and Karen. These respondents were eager to pursue work in other markets.

“Look, the work that we do, whether it’s for black consumers or general market, is strategic first. We get what’s going on in culture; we figure out the real business problem; we figure out who the consumer is, and we figure out the sweet spot in the middle that will ultimately help the client meet their goals. Yes, we started in the black consumer advertising. But, we can and have competed and won against general marketing agencies of a similar size. I don’t think black consumer advertising is going away any time soon, but we’re positioning ourselves for all opportunities. (Phil 46-75)

Respondents like Phil started their agencies in the late 1970s and early 1980s with a black consumer focus, but later expanded to include Hispanic and Asian advertising; he did not have an identity struggle in doing so. He began to pursue more general market work in the mid 90s as early United States Census projections highlighted an approaching significant shift in American demographics. The 2000 Census was the first time that there were 63 race categories including the original six single-race categories and 57 multiracial combinations. Additionally, the Hispanic population grew by 50% between 1990 and 2000. Hispanics can be of any race. About 35.3 million people identified themselves as Hispanic, rivaling the Black population for the status of largest ethnic minority group for the first time in United States history (Census.gov 2000; Wellner 2002). Respondents like Phil observed the general market becoming more multicultural.

Therefore, they felt they had just as much of a chance to win general market advertising business as a general market advertising agency of a similar size since they felt their business model was more prepared for this general market shift (Census.gov 2011; Carmichael and Francese 2011).

Phil believed that strategic advertising is by nature applicable to any target audience. His decision to pursue opportunities outside of the racial homophily of black consumers was strategic, not personal. Therefore, he felt his business was poised and prepared for the future. For the younger age cohort (25-45)-like Karen- five of the ten founded their businesses for and relied heavily on black consumer targeting. However, the rest of the respondents in this age cohort were adamant about positioning their agencies as general market firms. The following quote from Aaron is characteristic of this group:

When I started my company, I was very specific about creating a general market agency. I just didn't want to get caught in the multicultural trap. When you're black and you do that as your primary line of business—that's all people in the industry think you can do. Even when I do pick up some multicultural business, I put it under a separate brand name. Hey...I have to protect my brand. Besides, why would I scrap for 10%--the crumbs-- of the business when I can go after 100% of the pie? (Aaron 25-45)

Respondents like Aaron described a very deliberate and strategic attempt to focus their business model on serving the general market. They mentioned that other industry professionals, regardless of their ethnic identity, assume that being black meant that person should have deep knowledge of black consumer advertising. They feared that creating an advertising agency that specialized in the black consumer market, or racial

consumer homophily, would marginalize them as only “black consumer experts” and limit their opportunities.

Respondents like Aaron’s fears were not unfounded. As previously mentioned, from a business ownership perspective, The Heuristic Model of the Theory of Economic Detour explains how Jim Crow laws marginalized black businesses into black ethnic enclaves limiting their access to prime locations and a broader customer base (Stuart 1940; Butler 1991). This “detour” is explained in steps outlined in Table 3. Respondents like Aaron understood the mission of early black entrepreneurs in advertising in the 20th century, but they also saw what they felt were advertising industry-imposed limits based on agency stereotypes in the 21st century.

Additionally, Aaron brought up the very real financial benefits of positioning his company as a general market agency. Respondents like Aaron revealed that multicultural budgets are a smaller portion, for example 10%, of the overall marketing communications budget. Also, from their perspective, more general market agencies are going after multicultural work for themselves leaving even less work for targeted consumer agencies. Aaron said he did not want to position his agency to fight for so little. Respondents like Aaron felt this is not a sustainable business model.

In general, respondents retained such differing opinions about the focus of their advertising agencies based on a mission versus business outlook. Older mission oriented respondents like Carl got into advertising as part of a larger social movement interested in elevating a mostly negative black American narrative through advertising. Younger mission oriented respondents like Karen sought to build on and further evolve black

representations in advertising through a modern cultural lens. Older business orientated respondents like Phil may have started their businesses with a mission orientation, but have allowed their businesses to evolve based on changes in culture and therefore are open to more opportunities. Younger business oriented respondents like Aaron saw the black consumer market as a deeply marginalized and did not see much opportunity for growth. As a result, they choose to start general market advertising agencies instead. All respondents' personal and strategic decisions for their business were based on their own life and career experiences, which will be further discussed in the next section.

The “Black” glass ceilings in advertising

As previously mentioned, a disadvantage perspective argues that job scarcity or lower wages induced by discrimination pushes members of the discriminated groups into self-employment (Teixeira 2001; Mora & Davila 2005; Teixeira, Lo, & Truelove 2007). Additionally, Heilman and Chen (2003) suggest that the lure of entrepreneurship contains multiple elements of “lost opportunities escape.” The present research advances these findings and made them applicable in the mass media field of advertising. In keeping with the ethnic minority workplace “blocked mobility” previously described, respondents described how they experience “block mobility” in advertising specifically (Raijman and Tienda 2000; Sargeant and Moutray 2010; Wang, 2010). According to all respondents regardless of age or expertise, the black ceiling was similar to the glass ceiling typically associated with the point where female employees were no longer able to advance in their workplace. The glass represented an unseen, yet unbreakable, barrier to the senior executive ranks of the company. According to respondents, the black glass ceiling had

two meanings. First, it was aligned racially in that a black ceiling represented their perception of their inability to advance into senior positions versus white employees at general market advertising agencies. Second, the black glass ceiling represented a more obvious, visible expression of limited black mobility versus the unseen glass. They were acutely aware that there were no black senior managers past a particular level in their agencies. All respondents who started in general market agencies reported hitting a black ceiling in their advertising agencies regardless of age cohort. The majority of all respondents, 14 of the 20, started their careers in general market advertising agencies regardless of age cohort and current consumer expertise (see Table 4: List of respondents). This experience of the black ceiling includes the entire 25-45 year old age cohort and four out of the ten of the 46-75 year old age cohort. The remaining six respondents, who did not experience the black ceilings phenomenon, started their careers in black owned media before they pursued entrepreneurship in advertising. The following quote is representative of respondents in the 46-75 year old age cohort who started at a general market agency:

I started out at a prominent general market firm in the late 60s. I had some good support initially, and then it got weird. I started in account management. I was doing well. I was bringing in new business left and right. So, I went to my boss and asked for a raise. He said because I dressed nice and drove a nice car that I didn't need a raise. Now, I had nice clothes and a car before I got there 'cause I was in the military. But I asked, what did my clothes and car have to do with getting a raise based on my performance? I guess I stepped "out of place" because that's when they started making it hard on me. My boss told me, thinking he was being thoughtful and sincere, that the agency hadn't hired many blacks and that I should make sure that I did the best I could to work with the team as to not hurt the chances of other blacks who might want to get hired. So basically, I should have just shut up and been happy that I was

even there. That was my cue to leave. I met somebody at a black owned agency in town, interviewed there, and I was gone. (Carl 46-75)

The black ceiling experience for members of Carl's age cohort was quite blatant at their general market agency. In the above example, Carl's manager tried to offer Carl what he felt was an acceptable explanation as to why he was not getting a raise based on his race. His manager also encouraged Carl not to ruin the chances for other Blacks to be hired by making too much of a fuss. Carl described, "knowing his place" in two ways. First, Carl has southern roots and assigned knowing his place to his knowledge of a segregated south where blacks could not legally socialize, learn, or conduct business equally with whites. Second, knowing his place meant accepting, in general, the supremacy of whites, and therefore he should not want more than his white manager was willing to give just on principle. Carl was not accepting of this "place" or the low expectations for his career. He exited the general market agency at his first opportunity.

The following quote is representative of respondents in the 25-45 year old age cohort:

So I started in the industry in 1995. I was a consumer strategist at a general market agency before I went out on my own. I was doing well. I was making money; I was having a good time. It was great. But, you know...something was missing. I spent most my time analyzing the research versus going out and doing it. What I loved the most was the ethnography work. By the early 2000s, I was really feeling like I wanted make that jump. Not to long after that, one of my research clients became my boss as I went to go work for her doing in-homes on behalf of her brand clients. It was cool at first, but I found myself extra excited to take on the African-American projects. Once our marketing clients heard I was doing African-American research—they started sending me more projects, and I was bringing a lot of money in. Despite this, my boss told me that my "little projects" were taking away from the larger general business and

I should let them go and re-prioritize. Little projects? I was done. (Karen 25-45)

Respondents in Karen's age cohort reported less demonstrative black ceiling experiences than Carl's, but they provided evidence of black ceiling signals that were more covert. Karen's boss did not say to Karen that because she was black, she would not advance. Karen's boss did, however, hint that her black or African-American project focus would hold her back. Karen tried discussing financially sound options with her boss like bringing in a junior strategist that she could train to manage the general market projects while Karen worked on the black consumer work. Her boss declined her offers. Karen surmised that her boss would rather make less money pursuing general market work, than the general market business plus more with the black consumer market work. Even though Karen was making money for the firm, her black consumer focused projects were "little" and therefore devalued and unimportant. Since Karen was personally attached to her work with the black consumer market and saw it as an extension of her self, she felt belittled. Soon after, she left the firm with her black consumer market clients and started her own company. In the next section, respondents will share other tipping points toward entrepreneurship.

Older respondents "fell" into advertising to fill a void

The following quote is characteristic of the two respondents in the 46-75 year old age cohort who started in black media, and as they described it, "fell into advertising." Respondents described black media as black owned traditional media like radio stations, newspapers, and magazines that targeted black consumers.

Unlike a lot of ya'll young kids today, there wasn't a clear path for a guy like me. I ended up starting an agency--in large part--because after working in black media...I realized we didn't have enough outlets to tell our stories. People used to tell me--black people don't buy luxury goods because black people aren't affluent. Could you imagine someone saying that today? Anyway, so... one of the things that kept my agency open for the first few years was a radio program about affluent blacks that I helped to start. I also found the advertisers for it as a result. It was a great success for me financially and was another place that our stories could get told. As far as I can tell, I know I helped change the conversation about black people in this country. (John 46-75)

When these respondents started their careers, there were almost no opportunities available in general market media or advertising agencies. Starting an advertising agency was a surprise to them as they were not in pursuit of an advertising career. They had a mission orientation as previously described as well as saw an opportunity to fill a business intermediary need between clients who wished to attract black consumers and use black media.

Younger respondents chose advertising for fun

The following quote was characteristic of the five respondents in the 25-45 year old age cohort who started in a general market agency and eventually sought entrepreneurship in black consumer advertising. Unlike respondents like John (above), respondents like Jamal (below) specifically chose advertising as a career, because they thought it might be a fun job. However, they did not set out to become entrepreneurs.

One of my earliest influences as far as pursuing a career in marketing and advertising was Marcus Graham. Marcus Graham was lead character in Boomerang played by Eddie Murphy. That movie came out when I was a junior in high school in '91 or '92 I think. Man, Marcus was cool. He was a bachelor, he had his own place, and he made good money, seemed real independent. He had a professional career in advertising that looked like

fun. And in the movie, I saw a lot of black faces in there. In that professional setting, that was a whole new experience for me, and that kind of really sparked my interest in advertising as a career. So after that, I started to really pay attention to commercials and different ads and things. I still really did not know that much about it, but always having a sense of what I picked up in that movie. When it came time to go to college, I looked at a lot of different schools, and I was trying to find something that was close to what Marcus was doing-marketing, advertising, communications, that I could major in to get me moving in the right direction. I picked marketing in the business school because that's the closest I could get. My college didn't offer advertising as a major. I started at a general market agency and moved on to a multicultural firm where I'm now a part owner.-(Jamal 25-45)

Jamal went on to say that his immediate supervisor, a white female at the general market firm where he started provided great support to him. She had executive level power and influence in the agency and trusted him because he over delivered on projects. As she gave him more responsibility, he was able to grow. However, when she left the agency, he lost his advocate. His opportunities dried up, and he felt he hit a "black glass ceiling" as previously described. Jamal claimed that he did not lodge a complaint with the general market advertising agency where he felt he was being discriminated against in part because of fear of having a negative reputation follow him throughout his career in advertising. This is the point where he left and joined the multicultural, but still predominately black consumer agency, where he is currently a partner. Respondents like Jamal said that the advertising industry in the United States was quite small. It was a very social business where industry insiders hop from agency to agency in different cities throughout the country. His reputation would be key to getting his next position. He said he could have fought the discrimination he experienced, but he said it was just easier to

leave on good terms and move on. Besides, he said he never knew whether or not he might have to partner with his former agency on a piece of client business in the future.

The five respondents in the 25-45 year old age group who started in general market advertising agencies and pursued entrepreneurship in general market advertising were all under 35 years of age at the time of the interview. They started their careers in advertising in the early 2000s with some inkling that they would eventually start their own business. They observed a general lack of ethnic diversity at their advertising agencies. They also reported what they called “undercover racism” from co-workers and executives that they did not directly report to. They felt experiences of undercover racism included co-workers and executives questioning their expertise and missed invitations to social events because of the assumption that their cultural background would leave them uninterested. They also described undercover racism as tiresome inquiries regarding their views on affirmative action, hair texture or style, skin tone, their collegiate background, and their parental educational background. They said these background questions were not in an effort to get to know them, but were an effort to delegitimize their place in the advertising agency. The respondents said that they were continually questioned and analyzed at what they felt was an unusually high rate versus their white counterparts. However, all of these respondents stated that these co-worker-performed background checks had been happening on some level since they were children in elementary school. In essence, they were not surprised by the background checks, but they found them to be a nuisance and took time away from their productivity. For the general market firms that

had or were developing a multicultural practice, they felt pressured to provide African-American consumer insights where they did not feel they had any real expertise.

Still, the respondents said their experience at the general market agencies was great for their careers. They attribute their great experiences to their direct managers, whom they described as white males or females. These supervisors served as advisors, as well as provided career, social, and emotional support. They helped them navigate advertising agency culture and even provided advice and other resources when they discussed their entrepreneurial ideas. These supportive supervisors helped to neutralize the otherwise negative experiences previously described.

Opening a general market agency made sense to them because that was their expertise; they felt there were already plenty of black consumer advertising agencies; and they saw lots of financial potential in general market, online consumer advertising, and business-to-business advertising. Even though they started their own businesses, they still kept in touch with these supervisors, who continued to serve as mentors and offer support.

Respondents, regardless of age, who started in general market advertising agencies ventured into entrepreneurship in advertising in large part because of hitting a black ceiling at the general market agency. Respondents like those in the 25-45 age cohort who started general market agencies had relatively positive experiences there and continued to pursue that market in entrepreneurship even though they did experience some discrimination in the workplace. These positive experiences were generally attributed to having a positive working relationship with their direct manager. Those

respondents in the 25-45 year old age cohort who experienced a more negative experience in the general market agency attributed this experience to a poor relationship with their direct manager in addition to discrimination in the workplace. More will be revealed about respondents' relationships with mentors later in this dissertation. Though all of the respondents' choices and opportunities regarding entrepreneurship in advertising were different and complex, they were unified in the key characteristics that make a good employee fit.

Values homophily and employee-to-organization fit

Values homophily as it relates to employee-to-organization fit refer to a values match between the advertising agency as an organization and the personal values of the employee. Values homophily in this vein meant that the respondents sought employees whose personal values, standards of professionalism, and visions for the agency were aligned with the agency brand. However, the values match is where respondents expected the similarities taper off. According to the respondents, too much sameness kills idea generation.

A value homophily was the most salient to employee-to-organization fit regardless of whether respondents had a black consumer or general market agency. All respondents agreed that a values match between the agency and employees was paramount to a successful employee and advertising agency match. Respondents do not believe that their employees need to somehow match their consumers in order to be successful. Values trump all other conceptualizations of homophily as it relates to employees (See Table 5).

Oh my gosh! I made a bad hire once and I learned a lot from that situation. She looked great on paper. She interviewed well. But when it came down to it, she just wasn't a good fit. Fit...meaning she didn't and wasn't willing to fit in to our vision that we'd set as an agency. She was really smart. However, she only wanted to do it her way. She wasn't really team player. That doesn't work in the agency world. –(Rebecca 25-45)

For all of the respondents, a values match was beyond being good at the job. Being good or expecting great work was a given. However, if an employee's personal values did not align with the principles, ethics, or standards of behavior of the agency, that person would never fit into the advertising agency culture. According to respondents, these individuals whose values did not match were the most likely to harm their businesses from the standpoint of strained internal relationships, client relationships, and divergent visions regarding growth and expansion. All respondents agreed that an employee whose personal values did not match the agencies cause the most harm to the firm.

All respondents agreed that as the business owners, they set the tone for their advertising agencies' values based on their personal values. Though they desired an employee-agency values match, respondents did not want all of their employees to be exactly like them.

Employee "Sameness" kills ideas

If appropriate values were in tact, all respondents-regardless of their expertise-agreed that "difference" is better than "sameness" or homophily when it comes to their ideal employees. These respondents desire employees of different faiths, racial and ethnic backgrounds, as well as skills. Understanding the consumer, culture, and the overall

business needs of their clients is important. However, for these respondents, the background differences were what helped their agency arrive at the best possible marketing communications solutions for their clients. From their perspective, this difference was also what helped them be competitive in the industry. Different perspectives allowed for the agency as a whole to see a particular business problem from multiple vantage points. Solutions to client business problems were heavily scrutinized, as employees were encouraged to challenge solutions constructively. The following quote is characteristic of all respondents regardless of age or expertise:

The best ideas come from a diverse group of people. And we're in the ideas business. Period. We have people who work here that represent at least five different religions; we have every major ethnic group in the U.S. represented in client and non-client facing roles in the agency. Just being who we are, I feel we're a representation of America. But that fact alone doesn't make us good at what we do. It's the fact that we have all of them and they're ideas people. Because they're ideas people, they can ask the type of questions that no one else would think of to get us to a place with clients that they least expected. This is what helps us earn the trust of our clients. This is what helps us grow our business.(Linda 46-75)

Specifically, from the perspective of the respondents whose agencies predominately do work in the black consumer market, employees do not have to be black to be effective experts on the black consumer market any more than an employee needs to be white in order to be an expert in the general market even though the general market is currently predominately white. Given this issue, the following quote is characteristic of respondents whose agencies predominately do work in the black consumer market.

The foremost expert on African-American women aged 18-34 in our agency is a white female account planner from Australia. New clients are

surprised when they first meet her. But, their surprise ends when she reveals the depth of her knowledge. (Rebecca 25-45)

As business owners, they were less interested in multiple copies of themselves working at their advertising agency. Instead they sought employees with varied skills and backgrounds in order to help generate added value for their clients. However, there is some disagreement among the respondents regarding their roles as mentors and a support system for other black employees, executives, and entrepreneurs in the advertising industry at large.

Homophily as it relates to mentoring

Older respondents did not prioritize racial homophily when it came to mentoring younger entrepreneurs in advertising. Though they were not against it, the majority of the older respondents did not seek opportunities to mentor younger black entrepreneurs in advertising. Though younger respondents appreciated their white mentors, they desired racial homophily when it came to an advertising agency mentor. Younger respondents noticed that older black entrepreneurs and executives in advertising were not as readily available as they would have expected and attribute this distance to the “crabs in a barrel” phenomenon.

Older respondents do not place a priority on mentoring

Depending on their age cohort, respondents had different perspectives on their role as a mentor or being mentored within the black advertising community. Younger respondents expected black mentors to be readily available while older respondents did

have the same expectations when they started their careers. Respondents described a mentor as someone who is able to provide guidance and support regarding their professional, and to some degree personal, lives. Unlike employee-to-organization fit, younger respondents desired racial homophily as it related to mentors they sought in advertising. However, older respondents did not necessarily prioritize mentoring younger black professionals in advertising. This is an important finding because the strained business relationship between the younger and older cohort previously described may be directly related to the disconnect between the two age cohorts regarding mentoring. The following quote is characteristic of respondents in the age cohort representing 46-75 year olds.

There wasn't a clear path in advertising for a guy like me. Hell, it was guys like me that started "multicultural advertising," I didn't have anyone holding my hand. There was really nobody who could. All the other guys were starting out like me. We were competing against each other, so there wasn't a lot of support I guess. It's like man...get in there and figure it out. That's what I had to do. So I guess, outside of my company...I really don't think about being a mentor per se. Besides, ya'll young kids don't want to hear what old people have to say anyway -(John 46-75).

It is important to note that when respondents in the 46-75 year old age cohort used terms like "ya'll young kids today," they were specifically referring to black Americans who were represented in the younger age cohort. The lead researcher on this project identifies as black American and is a member of the younger age cohort 25-45. Therefore, it should be made clear that some respondents in the 46-75 year old age cohort lumped the lead researcher in with what respondents referred to as the 25-45 or younger black Americans working in advertising.

In general, respondents like John started out in advertising in the 1960s and 1970s. He recalled that even at black media companies where he worked before starting his agency, there was a “sink or swim” mentality. Essentially, he had no one to walk him through his roles and responsibilities. He only knew his job expectations, and not a pathway toward success. Respondents in John’s age cohort who started in general market firms had similar descriptions of a “sink-or-swim” work environment. Respondents like John described these early work environments as being fast paced. They had to be scrappy or else he would not have been successful. They described long hours with little direction from their immediate supervisors and not much contact with the owner. Regardless of the size of their initial places of business, there was a clear hierarchy involving senior management that was not to be violated. There was a definite chain of command that needed to be followed at all times. Further, respondents like John felt as if those represented in the younger age cohort did not value the wisdom of older adults. Respondents like John said that members of the younger age cohort “think that they have all of the answers” and did not treat the older cohort members with the respect they earned. One of the respondents, Ben (25-45), described this phenomenon in the following manner:

What we’re talking about here is deference or humble submission to elders. I learned about deference growing up, but it was reinforced in my fraternity in college and as a member of the alumni association. I noticed that my peers, though eager to learn, did not seem to value the contributions of older Americans in general. My respect for elders, came from the heavy influence of my grandparents when I was growing up. In my family, privileges and preferences were acknowledged based on age. For example, at family dinners that included extended family, the most

senior adults ate first, then the parents, and finally the grandchildren.-(Ben 25-45)

All of the respondents in the 25-45 year old age cohort had similar experiences in their households growing up. All of these respondents revealed that that growing up in this fashion sometimes meant awkward transition into the workforce. They went from addressing people they considered elders as Mr. or Ms. to all coworkers being addressed by first names and having seemingly equal footing sans a title or two. Still they felt an unseen line between themselves and black executives in advertising when it came to mentoring that mirrored their childhood. It was like wanting to sit at the adult table instead of the children's table at Thanksgiving and hoping to be invited by an adult as to not seem rude.

Younger respondents value white mentors

Further, and in contrast to respondents like John, respondents in the 25-45 year old age cohort started in general market advertising agencies. Even for those respondents in the 46-75 year old age cohort who started in general market agencies, Nora's following assertion would have been nearly unheard of when they started their careers:

I started out in a general market agency and have to give so much credit to my first creative director. He was a white guy, but he was my champion inside the agency. He taught me a lot. He got me face time with the clients. As he moved up, he pulled me right along with him. I wouldn't change that time for anything -(Nora 25-45).

As previously mentioned, the majority of the respondents in the 25-45 year old age cohort shared Nora's feelings about having supportive white managers even if other co-workers or executives were less than encouraging. As previously mentioned, McKay

and Wilson (2008) supported Jackson's (1995) findings in that black American perception of stereotype defense increases if blacks are considered a numerical rarity. Additionally, black managers helped to minimize discrimination stress related to being a numerical rarity. This research however suggested advancement in that a supportive direct manager, regardless of race, can help to minimize discrimination related stress. It is important to note that every respondent in the younger cohort had an even mix of heterosexual white male and female managers at their general market agencies. Their responses are not stating a preference for white heterosexual managers over any other group, but the demographic make-up of their agency teams did not allow them to be able to reference any other group as manager.

Younger respondents desire older black mentors

Still, even with this advancement, most of the respondents in the younger age cohort were disappointed with what they saw as a lack of available black mentors in the advertising industry. Respondents in the 25-45 year old age cohort said that any manager of any ethnicity who is supportive could be helpful to one's career. But for them, there were some issues that white managers could not help them through. Ben's response was characteristic of the 25-45 year old age cohort:

One of my biggest concerns is the general lack of black community in the advertising industry. It's kind of crazy because there were/are enough black people who've kind of made it in the industry to have at least a support system. I mean, there's no NABJ (National Association of Black Journalist) equivalent in advertising. Don't get me wrong, anyone who is willing can serve as mentors to black employees. But there are some things that are hard for people outside of your community to address—like how to manage bias (racial slur, etc.) in the moment without getting fired.
—(Ben 25-45)

Respondents like Ben shared that there is a specific void that they feel can only be met by associating with similarly situated black executives and entrepreneurs in advertising like John. The respondents in the younger age cohort overwhelmingly felt that the outreach from the older age cohort was surprisingly inconsistent. This may be a reflection of the hierarchical and cultural expectations previously associated with John's age cohort. It could be a reflection of Ben's definition of deference. However, it could also be a reflection of what the younger cohort refers to as "crabs in a barrel" when it comes to their more seasoned counterparts. Crabs in a barrel will be discussed in the next section.

Crabs in a barrel

"Crabs in a barrel" is a colloquial metaphor that attempts to explain the mentality of people who would sabotage one of their group members, even if that group member's success could mean success for the entire group. The metaphor described a hot pot of crabs. Individually, the crabs could easily escape from the pot, but instead they grab at each other, which prevents any of them escaping. This ensures their collective demise (McCloud 2011). The 25-45-year old respondents described "crabs in a barrel" as in-group sabotage at the hands of more senior black advertising agency executives and entrepreneurs. The phrase "crabs in a barrel" was used unprompted by all but one of the respondents in the 25-45 year old age cohort, but none in the 46-75 year old age cohort used the term without the intervention of the interviewer. In fact, the respondents in the 25-45 year old age cohort typically brought up "crabs in a barrel" at the end of the

interview when the interviewer asked if there was anything else they would like to contribute (see Appendix for Interview Protocol). Aaron is a member of the 25-45 year old age cohort, and his comments are typical of this group:

Black people have been more of as stumbling block when it comes to my career than white people. I mean, I love Black people. I love Black people to death. That's me. That's my folks. But, I don't know what it is---maybe it's crabs in a barrel. I don't know if this is the right way to explain this. But for a long time...the few Black people that were successful in advertising and got to those senior ranks or as business owners, -they got there because they were good. But, also because they were the only one. It's almost they like they self-dwell and like being the "token" because they've always been put on this special pedestal. So when there's somebody else ---like five or ten people that are coming behind them--- they're not the one and only anymore, and they are not treated as special or unique as they once were. I mean...I've been plainly shut down. Like coldly and viciously.-(Aaron 25-45)

The saboteurs that respondents in Aaron's cohort described included older cohort members at black-owned advertising agencies, black executives at general market agencies, and black marketing executives at client businesses. They viewed sabotage as black advertising executives giving them the run around at networking events, being consistently stood up for meetings, lunches or dinners, and, setting false industry rumors regarding poor service.

It should also be noted that these responses were challenging for the younger interviewees to report. Their emotions were quite mixed. They wanted to tell this truth of their experiences. However, they were also concerned that by revealing this type of in-group discrimination they would be both betraying the black advertising community and the legacy of people they respected. They felt that this behavior was not new within the

black advertising community. The following quote was characteristic of the five members of the 46-75 year old age cohort regarding crabs in a barrel:

After following-up with seven out of the ten respondents in the 46-75 year old age cohort, five revealed that they had heard of the crabs in a barrel phenomenon within the black advertising community and to some extent among black marketing clients. The other two had not seen or heard of this phenomenon. The following quote was representative of respondents in the 46-75 year old age cohort who had heard of the crabs in a barrel phenomenon.

I've heard of my contemporaries doing this sort of crabs in a barrel crap. This didn't just start with the young people coming up now though, this was happening when I was coming up in the late 70s. I think it's despicable. We've got enough going against us (Black Americans) in this country (The United States). To tear each other down is just sad. Yes, some of us are competing with each other in the (advertising) industry for business, but if you're handling your business the right way- you don't have to try to sabotage someone else in order to make it.-(Debra-46-75)

Members of both groups observed the crabs in a barrel phenomenon. However, members of the 46-75 year old age cohort revealed that it was nothing new. Still, members of both groups agreed that revealing the crabs in a barrel phenomenon might be a good step toward dismantling its existence.

Chapter Summary

This chapter detailed four major topic areas and subsequent themes that emerged from the data. The first topic area that emerged was called homophily as it relates to relationship marketing. Value homophily was important to successful agency-client relationships. All respondents felt they as well as their client must have the same

understanding of the business value of their agencies' services. This ensured a healthy business relationship as this viewpoint encourages clients to see the agencies services as key to the success of their brand, rather than as a disposable accessory. Task bonding as it relates to homophily, the practice of matching business goals and outcomes, strengthens current client bonds. Task bonding ensures that measurements of success are clear and allows the agencies to be able to take a more calculated creative risk with regard to brand campaigns. On the other hand, homophily as it related to social bonding helps build new client relationships. While task bonding is important to maintaining client relationships, social bonding is important when it comes to sourcing new business opportunities. Social bonding is accomplished by engaging in the same organizations as marketing and advertising decision makers and trade influencers. This is an important finding as it speaks directly to how advertising agencies had to switch gears when engaging current and potential new client relationships. While all respondents agreed that relevant local and national business outreach was the backbone of relationship marketing success, both cohort members reported experiencing in-group rejection and in-group entitlement discounts at the hands of black clients. Older respondents (55-75) were not surprised. Younger respondents (25-45), were surprised and were not prepared for this type of in-group discrimination. As a result, they struggled with balancing the needs of their business and honoring their elders. Both age cohorts attributed this type of in-group discrimination to a black inferiority narrative rooted in United States history. The respondents revealed that historically, in order to maintain white supremacy, which justified slavery, Jim Crow laws and other discriminatory practices against black

Americans furthered the black inferiority narrative that dehumanized and devalued black Americans. This inferiority narrative also devalued anything produced by black Americans. This narrative was so persistent, it even convinced many black Americans of broader group inferiority, which, they felt, was the foundation of the in-group discrimination they experienced. Even so, regardless of their expertise, both members of each age cohort agreed that standing firm on their agencies' capabilities and value as a result ensures that they make the right client partnership decisions for their business regardless of racial identity.

The second topic that emerged was called homophily as it relates to the pursuit of entrepreneurship in advertising. All respondents' aged 46-75 said black consumer advertising campaigns were their main source of business. Five of the respondents' aged 25-45 said black consumer advertising projects were their main source of business while five in their age cohort pursued general market work. The decision to remain, grow out of, or never pursue the racial consumer homophily as part of their business was complex. Regardless of age cohort, it appeared that the decision to pursue general market work had to do with whether or not the respondent was mission or business orientated. If the respondents were mission oriented, they were more likely to see their business activities in advertising as a larger cause tied to advancing media representations of black Americans. Mission oriented respondents are concerned that if they pursue general market work, then their getting away from their mission which is directly tied to their identity. Regardless of age cohort, business oriented respondents are primarily interested in new business opportunities. While they care about the way that black Americans are

being represented in the media, their primary focus was preparing their business to be able to capitalize of new opportunities regardless of the target. In general, respondents retained such differing opinions based on their own life and career experiences, which helped direct their entrepreneurial pursuits in advertising. Whether they intended to pursue entrepreneurship in advertising or not, most respondents reported seeing or hitting what they described as a black ceiling in their general market advertising agencies. Black ceilings, along with their life and professional experiences, helped to push them toward entrepreneurship in advertising. The third topic that emerged is called values homophily and employee-to-organization fit. In order to sustain and grow their businesses, respondents felt that an employee's values must be in line with the agency. Employee-agency mismatches were detrimental to internal and external agency relationships. Respondents admitted that the agencies values were largely based on their own. However, if those values were in place, they were less interested in multiple copies of themselves working at their advertising agency. Instead, they sought employees with varied skills and backgrounds in order to help generate added value for their clients.

The fourth topic that emerged is called homophily as it relates to mentoring. The majority of the respondents in the older age cohort, 46-75, did not have the benefit of much career support when they were starting out. Whether they started in general market advertising agencies or a black media company, they only knew job expectations, but not necessarily provided a pathway toward success. For the 46-75 year olds who started in a general market advertising agency, the added exclusionary practices that happened based on race alone made the possibility of mentorship close to impossible. The majority of the

respondents in the 25-45 year old age cohort shared Nora's feelings about having supportive white managers even if other co-workers or executive were less than encouraging. Still, even with this advancement, most in the younger age cohort are disappointed with what they see as lack of available black mentors in the advertising industry. Some of the younger cohort attributed this lack of availability to the crabs in a barrel phenomenon. Older cohort members did not deny the existent of the crabs in a barrel phenomenon, but insisted that it was not new. Still, it is up to all members of each age cohort to increase communication, break down barriers, and forge relationships within the black advertising community.

Chapter 5: Discussion, conclusions and directions for future research

This chapter will discuss overall conclusions, implications, and directions for future research

There were two age cohorts of black advertising entrepreneurs represented whose perceptions and experiences were shaped by their respective major life events; 46-75 and 25-45. The Civil Rights Movers (46-75) entered advertising during a time of civil unrest in the U.S. in the mid-20th century. Their motivations for starting their businesses were rooted in these experiences. Their entrance into the advertising business was for financial gain and considered a "must" to help change the negative narrative in mass media about black Americans as a people and consumers. The Post Civil Rights Beneficiaries (25-45) were some of the first recipients of their parents and grandparents civil rights fight. Some of their experiences were influenced by the rise of Hip Hop as a culture and a force in marketing in the early to mid 90s. Additionally, by early 2000s, this age cohort was able to take advantage of the digital revolution with the advent of the Internet. New technologies offered new media to reach consumers, and with that, they saw new business opportunities to be conquered. As a result, the research uncovered four key topics under which subsequent themes were organized: homophily as it relates to relationship marketing, homophily as it relates to employee-to-organization fit, and homophily as it relates to the pursuit of entrepreneurship in advertising, and homophily as it relates to mentoring. These four key topics will be discussed per each cohort's experiences.

While production-side diversity and inclusion issues continue in the advertising industry, little scholarly research has been completed to first understand the mechanisms behind the scenes and also how race plays a role in which employees or advertising agencies are hired, fired, or not given an opportunity. This research not only revealed the types of dominant group bias the respondents experienced, but just as important, it revealed in-group or black-on-black bias in the advertising industry as well. This in-group bias revelation adds a significant piece to the puzzle to help explain why people of color, and more specifically black people, are so limited in the advertising industry. The dominant culture in the industry certainly has work to do from an inclusionary standpoint. However, those members of marginalized groups who have advanced through the ranks in advertising must also reach back or at least not close the door behind them.

As a qualitative investigation, the outcomes provided explanatory rather than predictive insights. The methodological approach offered new ways of framing and conceptualizing in-group bias that can be further tested for broader implications across other groups. What follows is a general discussion of the key findings along with areas of inquiry for future research, implications academia, and implications for the advertising over all.

Homophily as it relates to relationship marketing

Homophily and growing client business

All respondents, regardless of age cohort and expertise agreed that homophily in the perception of business goals to be achieved helped them strengthen client bonds; however, racial homophily was not a factor in business success. Further, task bonding supported their current client relationships, while social bonding through participating in the same industry organizations as new business stakeholders was important for sourcing new clients. According to Davies and Prince (2005), these types of experiential trust building on behalf of agencies helped clients to minimize the risk of not making a return on their marketing communication investment or taking a risk on an unfamiliar agency.

These foundational trust activities plant the seed for a long-term relationship. Respondents agreed that much of their new business growth comes from current clients. This was consistent with the 80/20 rule. The 80/20 rule is a widely cited and accepted ratio, generally used to describe the small proportion of work required to produce a large proportion of the results (Parker 1983). From a business service firm perspective, Weinstein (2001) noted that while it is important for service firms to replace lost business with new client building activities, these actions should be secondary in importance to the main source of service firm revenue---keeping customers and enhancing customer relationships. Service oriented factors such as core service encounter failures, inconvenience, and response to failed service accounted for 70% of the reasons why customers defect (Weinstein 2001). These are issues that would be within the service

firm's control. However, in the early 21st century, the agency-client relationship is additionally challenged by high chief marketing officer (CMO) turnover. In challenging economic times, the CMO is seemingly the most expendable executive with tenure rates only spanning 30 months on average, while the average chief executive officer (CEO) and chief financial officer (CFO) tenure hovers around six years. (Morais 2007; Whitler 2012). High CMO turnover can lead to instability in the brand strategy, customer relationship management activities, customer facing marketing programs, and ultimately, customer dissatisfaction (Whitler 2012).

An agency could be effectively servicing the client and helping the client's brand toward business success. They could clearly understand clients' brands and help clients navigate their brands' challenges. However, given the CMO turnover rates, an agency's success could all be for naught if the agency does not have a real chance to build the key connections necessary to be able to capitalize on incremental growth opportunities.

Homophily and business-to-business outreach

Given the shortened CMO tenure previously described, it is not surprising that respondents found it important to spend time building potentially lucrative relationships outside of their current client relationships. However, there is little empirical research concerning marketers' advertising agency selection process, or the inclusion of advertising agency search consultants and procurement specialists in the pitch process. Empirical research in this area could be lagging because even the advertising and business trade magazines have noted that the inclusion of search consultants is a 21st century phenomenon (Duba 2011; Goodson 2011). During much of the 20th century,

advertising was relegated to television, radio, print newspaper, and print magazines. With the rise of the Internet and Internet advertising, which now includes social media and consumer generated content—the 21st century media landscape is now incredibly varied (Duba 2011). Advertising agencies and media buying/planning agencies with online expertise are now in direct competition with companies like Google, Bing, and Twitter that offer their own online advertising solutions based on their interfaces (Goodson 2011). The technology has moved faster than marketers have been able to keep up. This phenomenon has increased the need for an intermediary to help marketers navigate their advertising options.

Further, as of 2013, procurement specialists have taken the lead, over marketing professionals, in even high profile agency selection processes. For example, KMART a brand managed by the advertising agency DRAFTFCB since 2007 put their business up for review as part of their standard agency review process. KMART's procurement team led this process and their marketing team members were not involved (Rupal and Zmuba 2013). Price and value are the focus of procurement specialists who have grown more powerful in the agency selection process in recent decades. As the respondents rightfully note, being aware of and appealing to procurement specialists during the pitch process is vital to connecting with them and securing a win for the agency.

In addition to appealing to both procurement and agency search professionals, respondents agreed that participating in their broader business communities is vital to their relationship building activities. The foundation of this assertion—also known as participating in communities of practice—is not a new concept in the management

scholarship. The concept of communities of practice was originally developed by Lave and Wenger (1991). Lave and Wenger (1991, p. 98) argued that a community of practice, which they define as “a system of relationships between people, activities, and the world; developing with time, and in relation to other tangential and overlapping communities of practice is an intrinsic condition of the existence of knowledge (Lave and Wenger 1991).”

By the early 21st century, managers increasingly began to seek to develop and support communities of practice as a knowledge building strategy, which managers felt helped them to create value within their individual firms (Roberts 2006). For the present research, respondents not only participated in such communities of practice for the purposes of knowledge building, but also for new business opportunities as well.

As the benefits of communities of practice were enjoyed, their limitations were also revealed. Wenger et al. (2002, p. 141) referred to the downside of communities of practice arguing that the “very qualities that make a community an ideal structure for learning – a shared perspectives on a domain, trust, a communal identity, long-standing relationships, an established practice – are the same qualities that can hold it hostage to its history and its achievements.” Essentially, once a community of practice is established, it may be harder for prospective new members to gain accesses and contribute their new knowledge and experiences. This lack of fresh thinking could ultimately be the demise of the community (Roberts 2006). Roberts (2006) acknowledged that broad socio-cultural factors regarding community of practice exclusion should be explored in future research. In the present research, community of

practice exclusion from the perspective of the black community in advertising will be explored in the next section.

In-group entitlement discounts and in-group rejection

All respondents discussed being primed at home for the potential of being unfairly judged based on the color of their skin. This is consistent with black family literature that suggests that Black middle class families whose household leaders had experienced the mechanism of racism provided their children survival techniques to try to bypass it (Littlejohn-Blake and Darling 1993; Ruggles 1994).

Guardians warn their children to always get a receipt when they purchase an item from a store, to be polite when they are pulled over by the police, to realize that they will have to work twice as hard to get half as far as whites; and if whites are participating in mischief, stay away because it is the black person who will be accused of any infractions. These survival techniques are widely known. In addition to the day-to-day survival techniques, guardians instilled a sense of history, pride, and an extended sense of family within the black community. This helped to serve as a buffer against race-based bias as well. This sense of extended family within the Black community made greetings utilizing “Sister, Brother, Cousin, Uncle, and Aunt” appropriate for biological family, family friends, and new acquaintances (Littlejohn-Blake and Darling 1993; Ruggles 1994).

While the present research found that race-based exclusion at the hands of whites impacted the respondents’ ability to build their career and later advertising agency growth related relationships, both age cohorts expected this. They were less prepared for in-group exclusion and in-group entitlement discounts.

Respondents described the black inferiority narrative that is associated with dominant, culturally normed stereotypes of black Americans. For example, while white Americans are most commonly stereotyped as being intelligent, egotistical, and pleasant, common media stereotypes of black Americans represent athleticism, inferior intelligence, lazy, dishonest, comical, unethical, and crooked (Lee et, al. 2009). These black stereotypes are disconnected from those attributes associated with those who might provide a superior product or service. This could leave business owners, whose personhood is associated with negative stereotypes, rejected by in-group or out-group customers. This type of in-group rejection can evolve into horizontal hostility.

Horizontal hostility is the term coined by feminist in the 1970s to describe infighting within the women's movement. Rather than banding together, subgroups snipe. Horizontal hostility can manifest itself in the form of sabotage. Phar (1997) explained that if one has learned self-hatred because of one's membership in a "minority" group, then that disrespect and hatred can easily be extended to the entire group so that one does not see reason to support the whole. These individuals favor the dominant group over their in-group members. In this case, people destroy their own neighborhoods, displaying violence and crime toward their own people, or in-groups showing distrust of their own kind while respecting the power of those who define the norm.

As business owners, they will be reluctant to conduct business with in-group members. These business owners may have greater expectations for service from in-group members than dominate group members. For example, one service failure from an in-group member (black) might lead the offended to proclaim that they will never shop at

any in-group member's (black) business ever again. In contrast, a service failure from a dominant group member's business (white) would not have the offended swear off all dominate group owned (white) businesses for life.

These expectations are in fact sabotage as they devalue the product or service the in-group member(s) provides, potentially hurting profits. Ultimately, they lessen the strength of the in-group members' businesses making less competition for the dominant group. "Hence, a major part of every social change movement has been an effort to increase the pride and self-esteem of the oppressed group, to bond people together for the common good or else tear each other apart," (Phar 1997, p. 4). Still, these expectations of in-group entitlements may not be based on conscious decision-making.

Cultivation theory and social learning theory help explain how even derogatory messages about one's own group can negatively affect unconscious thinking about one's group. Gerber (1980)'s cultivation theory states that viewers, over time, internalize messages as a result of massive exposure to television's messages and therefore hold a more generalized worldview. Gerbner argued that viewers are more likely to accept portrayals as valid and real when television is watched frequently (Gerbner, 1980; Gerbner, 1998). The social learning theory explains how behaviors, attitudes, and values can be learned vicariously through the observation of others (Gerbner, 1980; Gerbner, 1998; Bandura, 2001).

As Bandura stated, "Much social learning occurs either designedly or unintentionally from models in one's immediate environment. However, a vast amount of information about human values, styles of thinking, and behavior patterns are gained

from the extensive modeling in the symbolic environment of the mass media” (Bandura 2001, p. 2). In this way, television contributes to the shaping of ethnic stereotypes. Individual reality is in part constructed by the surrounding social world, with the media being a large part of that social reality (Smith-McLallen 2006). As previously mentioned, black stereotypes in the media are largely negative. As a result, even black in-group members cannot necessarily escape stereotypes held by other in-group members. This helps explain some of the horizontal hostility found between younger and older cohort members in the present research. Potential in-group clients could consciously or unconsciously apply these stereotypes when considering service providers. Because there is no clear escape, service providers must focus on their capabilities, their worth, and values to help ensure their going after the right business for their advertising agency. Conversely, black advertising agency entrepreneurs must consistently question their attitudes and beliefs toward other black advertising entrepreneurs to ensure their assessments of their businesses are fair.

Values homophily in business-to-business relationships

Lam et al. (2004) utilized the well-investigated attitudinal framework, cognition → affect → behavioral intent, to understand how business-to-business customers valued their vendor or partner relationships. Lam et al. (2004) revealed that business-to-business customers are mainly driven by their affective state (satisfaction) in recommending a service to other business-to-business customers but are influenced by both their satisfaction and perceived value of a service when considering whether to use this service again (Lam et al. 2004). This was a ground breaking finding in that it

introduced affect as a significant influencer on business-to-business vendor selection. Additionally, Lam et al.'s (2004) findings support the importance of homophily as it relates to social bonding when advertising agency entrepreneurs are seeking new business opportunities. Still, as respondents and organizational behavior researchers pointed out, organizational value congruence is most important to business growth. Respondents saw a connection between organization-to-organization value congruence in building strong agency client relationships. It is clear that despite a growing body of research on relationship value, new conceptual developments and studies are required to identify structures like organization-to-organization value congruence underpinning relationship value to help build more precise business-to-business relationship building theory (Gil-Saura Frasquet-Deltoro and Cervera-Taulet 2009).

Homophily as it relates to the pursuit of entrepreneurship in advertising

Mission versus business orientation in advertising entrepreneurship

Drumwright (1996) found that advertising managers who perceived they were civic-minded placed priority on the social or noneconomic benefits as well as the economic benefits of their campaigns. The present research extends Drumwright's (1996) findings. Similarly, mission-oriented respondents in the present research placed priority on the social or noneconomic benefits that the varied black representations that their agencies created had on their communities and society more generally. They were concerned with these benefits as well as with economic benefits to their agency. However, this mission orientation was also a matter of personal identity. As previously mentioned, scholars have defined identity as internalized expectations about those

characteristics individuals hold as central, distinctive, and ongoing about them and that are at least partially reflected in the roles they play (Burke and Reitzes 1991). For example, Carl and Karen have found self-meaning in their role of as black consumer expert. Therefore, Karen and Carl are likely to view this black consumer expert identity as a central and defining characteristic about who they are. Cardon et al. (2009) established three key entrepreneurial role identities: (1) an inventor identity, where the entrepreneur's passion is for activities involved in identifying, inventing, and exploring new opportunities; (2) a founder identity, where the entrepreneur's passion is for activities involved in establishing a venture for commercializing and exploiting opportunities; and (3) a developer identity, where the entrepreneur's passion is for activities related to nurturing, growing, and expanding the venture once it has been created. Given respondents like Karen and Carl's experiences in entrepreneurship, they are more closely aligned with the founder identity as their mission orientation keeps them more focused on their established mission rather than evolving it. This identity is less focused on exploring new opportunities than expanding the venture. Rhodes and Butler (2010) acknowledged that family businesses had to break out of the family homophily in order to innovate and grow. Similarly, Carl and Karen will need to heavily consider breaking out of the Black consumer homophily in order to survive. Respondents like Carl and Karen focus on mission will make growth challenging. General market might not be the answer, but expanding to other markets must be a priority. Per the Business Life Cycle (See Figure 1), respondents like Carl and Karen are in the mature stage with decline quickly approaching if they do not make a change.

By the 2010 Census, ethnic minority growth continued to increase. Minority populations grew eight times faster than the majority white population between 2000 and 2010. Hispanics, Asians, African-Americans, and other races increased 32.2% and accounted for nearly three-quarters (74%) of all U.S. growth among the population ages 18 or older. White, non-Hispanic children under age 18 declined 9.8% between 2000 and 2010, while Hispanic children or children of other races increased 36.5% (Census.gov 2011; Carmichael and Francese 2011). Like Carl and Karen, Phil's agency is in the mature stage, but Phil is more poised to adapt and change in order to grow. This displays more of an inventor and developer identity because their passions are associated with nurturing, growing, and expanding their agency (Cardon et al. 2009).

Respondents like Aaron who positioned their agency as a general market-advertising agency and primarily pursued general market work did so from a different perspective than respondents like Phil. Phil started his agency as a black consumer advertising agency. However, Phil grew to include Hispanic, Asian, and some general market expertise. Respondents like Aaron were concerned that a Black consumer expertise assumption applied to them could lead to discrimination in a business-to-business context as advertising agency entrepreneurs. This fear lead them to choose to pursue predominately general market work in order not be pigeon hold and have the best chance to receive the most lucrative projects. Respondents like Aaron inadvertently described the lost opportunities effect.

Ilgen and Youtz (1986) studied gender-related discrimination in the workplace and conceived of the lost opportunities effect. The lost opportunities effect suggested that

minority members may experience discrimination in a number of respects and that such unfavorable experiences can have negative consequences for their career success.

Specifically, those authors posited that treatment discrimination experienced by minorities may reduce their job performance and career prospects, since they would receive fewer opportunities to enhance work related skills and develop supportive relationships within an organization.

Though the lost opportunities effect was conceived by Ilgen and Youtz in 1986, the fear of being marginalized in the black consumer market as a black entrepreneur in advertising is a 21st century concern. Respondents like Aaron felt if he pursued Black consumer work that his business would be marginalized in the advertising industry-the lost opportunities effect in a business-to-business context. For respondents like Aaron, the same pioneers who established Black consumer marketing in a ground breaking-revolutionary manner—are now trapped by it since it is such a small portion of the overall marketing budget. Going after general market business means giving his business the best chance to land the most lucrative contracts. Since Aaron's business is in its six year and in its third year of profitability, he is in the growth stage of the Business Life Cycle (See Figure 1). Respondents like Aaron have advertising agencies that are similarly situated on the Business Life Cycle.

Respondents like Phil (46-75) and Aaron (25-45) displayed characteristics more in line with the inventor and developer identities that are more open to growth outside of the black consumer advertising homophily (Cardon et al. 2009). This research suggests that respondents' entrepreneurial identity plus his tie to personal identity may be more of

a predictor of their consumer expertise choice for their advertising agency than their race. This combination may also be a predictor of the growth or decline of their business in the future. What is clear is that the development and pursuit of growth opportunities are complex and shaped by pivotal life experiences.

The “Black” glass ceiling in advertising

As previously mentioned, it is widely known in entrepreneurship literature that discrimination against women and ethnic groups has led to entrepreneurship even if that was not necessarily the intention. Nearly 50 years have passed since the passage of the Civil Rights Legislation of 1964. However, gender and race disparities continue in virtually every sector of the workforce, from the military to the government to the Fortune 500 companies (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Bachman, 2001; Eagly & Carli, 2007; Cortina, et. al. 2011).

The respondents’ experiences of discrimination in the workplace are signals of its evolution. This evolution of discrimination refers to an evolution from more blatant expressions noted in respondents like Carl’s experience to more subtle expressions noted in respondents like Karen’s experience. Carl’s experience at the general market agency in the 60s could be described traditional discrimination. These were the blatant denials of employment, promotions, housing, and credit where the denier specifically lists race as the primary reason for denial (Deitch et. al. 2003). In the past, most studies on employee discrimination have focused on these blatant denials (Valentine et al., 1999).

However, Karen’s experience highlighted the evolution of racism in the workplace called modern racism (McConahay 1986), “aversive racism” (Gaertner and

Dovidio, 1986) or “ambivalent racism” (Katz and Hass 1988). These refer to subtle types of prejudice, held even by liberal-minded individuals who harbor no discriminatory intent (Cortina, et. al. 2011).

These more subtle microaggressions are harder to track as individuals who hold racist views can more easily hide their negative intentions. These discriminatory subtleties may include unfriendly non-verbal and verbal communication, and devaluing even contributions that may significantly contribute to the bottom line (Pettigrew and Martin 1987). These microaggressions appear neutral on the surface. That is, “generally” subtle words and actions that make no overt reference to gender or race (or any other social dimension). Nevertheless, subtle discrimination may sometimes represent a covert manifestation of gender and racial bias when women and people of color are selectively targeted (Cortina et. al., 2011).

In Karen’s case, her encounter with modern discrimination represented a shift from “big,” explicit discriminatory happenings to the more subtle, everyday forms (Deitch et. al. 2003). In addition to changes in racial attitudes, the increased enforcement power of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and changes in the political landscape, i.e., the 2008 and 2012 election and re-election of the nations first black president, likely discouraged Carl’s more overt experience of discrimination in the workplace (Dovidio et al. 2001, Deitch et. al. 2003; Cortina, et. al. 2011).

Deitch et al. (2003) found that, even though this everyday discrimination consisted of relatively minor discriminatory incidents, it did partially account for lower job satisfaction on the part of black employees. Their study provided some evidence that

the experience of everyday discrimination on the job was associated with negative job-specific well-being outcomes. Blacks appeared to be experiencing an additional source of stress on the job, one with which whites did not have to cope with or consider.

Though Carl and Karen experienced blatant and subtle racism, respectively—they were both provided with a business justification for those happenings. Among the findings of Quinn et al.'s (1968) groundbreaking study of discrimination against Jews in the workplace were the following: self-reported decisions to discriminate were related directly to the manager's exposure to organizational pressures. The sort of organizational pressures to discriminate that the researchers uncovered were depicted in quotes from two of their participants: "We definitely discriminate against colored (inclusive of Jews) people. It just wouldn't be practical to have a colored salesmen. It wouldn't work from a customer's viewpoint, and so we can't do it" (p. 39). Further, in late 1992, Shoney's agreed to a \$132.5 million settlement in response to charges the restaurant company discriminated against its black employees. These charges included, for example, white managers being ordered to "lighten-up" their restaurants, a company colloquialism for reducing the number of Black employees, and to hire "attractive white girls" instead (Watkins 1993 and Brief et. al. 2000).

In general, these business claims for discrimination were not lost on the employees they negatively affected. They reported greater job-related stress, distraction, dissatisfaction; lower creativity and cooperation; and greater psychological distress. Over time, they lost commitment to their organizations and quit at higher rates, which was the case with respondents like Carl and Karen (Cortina et al., 2002; Cortina et al., 2001; Lim

et al., 2008). Even employees who only experienced discrimination second hand (e.g., witnessing the mistreatment of colleagues) revealed lower job satisfaction and commitment. They also reported greater job burnout and turnover intentions (Lim et al., 2008). Cortina notes that these adverse consequences of discrimination “have financial implications for employers, who must absorb the costs of employee distraction and discontentment, job accidents, substance abuse, sick leave, work team conflict, productivity decline, and turnover” (Cortina 2008, p. 57).

In the case of Shoney’s, the statement of the company’s Chief Executive Officer, in essence, stated that the restaurant’s performance depended upon the racial make up of the customer-facing employees even above customer service and attention to detail. (Brief 1998 and Brief et. al. 2000). Similarly, in 2013, young adult clothing brands Abercrombie & Fitch and Wet Seal were in the midst of multi-million dollar lawsuits from employees who were overweight and people of color who were relegated to the stock room because they did not fit the look of their ideal consumer (Abcarian 2013).

Though matching employees to consumers in the way that is described above is discriminatory, this idea must be considered both ways. Given the present research, this is a crucial notion when considering whether a racial or cultural homophily in employees, i.e., black consumer advertising requires black employees, is important to managing culturally directed advertising. In the next section, there will be a discussion regarding respondents’ evolution into entrepreneurship along with their insights on homophily as it relates to employees.

Evolution into entrepreneurship

As previously mentioned in the literature review, discrimination has served to push members of discriminated groups into self-employment. Some scholars argue that entrepreneurship helps to minimize discrimination (Heilman and Chen 2003). Respondents like John (46-75) saw a direct relationship between their efforts as entrepreneurs in advertising and reduced discriminatory representation of black Americans in the media. John's account also provided an advertising industry account of the Heuristic Model of the Theory of Economic Detour (see table 3) (Rhodes and Butler 2004). When he started his career, he faced an advertising industry and a consumer market place that was hostile to the black consumer. He felt that he needed to ease these hostilities and change perceptions.

This desire for change could have unknowingly detoured his entrepreneurial pursuits in general market advertising into black consumer advertising. Without Post-Civil war hostility and later Jim Crow, starting a general market advertising agency might have been seen as a tangible opportunity for him. He started his advertising agency as a multicultural agency; however, most of his revenue came from the black consumer market. As previously mentioned, since multicultural advertising is between 10 and 24% of the total advertising budget, he theoretically is left out of opportunities to gain a bigger piece of the budget (Rhodes and Butler 2004; Duggan 2012). He, like many of his contemporaries, and others who have followed in their footsteps, were facing a similar business conundrum in 2013. But respondents like Carl and Karen, mentioned previously, may see the venture into general market work as somehow turning their backs on their mission regarding improvement in authentic black media representations.

Respondents like Jamal and Karen (25-45) had a similar evolution career evolution in advertising. They hit what they described as a black ceiling and chose to pursue entrepreneurship in the black consumer market to escape the preconceived limits set for them. This escape is known as flight. First described by Walter Bradford Cannon, flight-or-fight is a physiological reaction that occurs in response to a perceived harmful event, attack, or threat to survival. The reaction is activated by the autonomic nervous system, which primes the animal for fighting or fleeing (Janig 2009). Regarding the present research, these harmful events were threats to their careers. Mitra (2003) surmised that ethnic minorities and women are more likely to escape (flight) rather than confront (fight) the power structure that supports these walls or ceilings within firms (Gross 1998; Mitra 2003; Janig 2009). Kaiser and Miller (2003) noted that claiming discrimination has led black Americans to be labeled as trouble-makers and anti-team players. Additionally, without a powerful internal advocate, black Americans felt these claims would do more harm to their careers than good.

Advertising has a reputation for being an industry where past co-worker and client relationships are critical to an individual's next opportunity. Additionally, advertising agencies connect a potential employees' ability to manage their personal brand with their ability to manage client brands. Seventy-three percent of hiring managers use online search engines to seek information about potential employees. Sixty-three percent of hiring managers eliminate potential new hires based on unsavory information they find in their search (Cravens and Oliver 2006). An unsavory discrimination complaint could be easily found and may serve as a red flag to an advertising hiring manager.

Unlike respondents like John who fell into advertising, respondents like Jamal chose advertising as a career because he admired the fictional character Marcus Graham in the movie *Boomerang* in the early 1990s. Marcus Graham was a self-proclaimed ladies man who was a senior advertising executive at a make-up company for women of color (Internet Movie Database 1992). It should be noted that Jamal's mention of Marcus Graham was unaided.

The character of Marcus Graham was such an influential example of career opportunities in advertising Black Americans that this character continues to have an indirect effect on encouraging young people of color to consider a career in the advertising and media fields. Lincoln Steffens-a former advertising executive-was so influenced by the character that he started the non-profit-The Marcus Graham project in 2007. The Marcus Graham project is a network of diverse advertising professionals and students. The vision of the organization includes the creation of an online social networking site to begin bringing people of color together to help advance and support each other in the advertising industry (The Marcus Graham Project 2012).

Similar to the respondents aged 25-45 who started general market firms, Steffens worked as an advertising account executive at general market firms for 5 years. He enjoyed his career, but was disappointed in the lack of ethnic diversity within the industry. However, instead of staying at his general market agency, or pursuing entrepreneurship in the general market, he launched The Marcus Graham Project (The Marcus Graham Project 2012). Respondents aged 25-45 who started their careers in general market advertising agencies and started general market advertising agencies

reported racial isolation discomforts which can be attributed to token stress (Jackson et. al 1995). Specifically to advertising, these respondents revealed they had the additional stress of having the automatic label of black consumer expert without any experience related to the black consumer market. This label, which may be considered an opportunity from the perspective of the agency, could potentially set employees like the respondents up for failure unless they have a strong advocate to shield them from such pitfalls.

The respondents' evolution into advertising entrepreneurship was a reflection of opportunities available to them during a pre and post Civil Rights Movement America. Though younger respondents' (25-45) have reaped the 21st century benefits of the older respondents (46-75) fight for equality in terms of more opportunities for black Americans in advertising, younger respondents have not yet fully escaped 20th century token stress. Some respondents in the 25-45 and 46-75 year old age cohort escaped general market advertising agency token stress through entrepreneurship in black consumer advertising. Others in the 25-45 year old escaped general market advertising agency token stress by asserting their general market expertise. Though there was disagreement regarding the financial potential of either choice, entrepreneurship provides them the opportunity to drastically minimize this token stress within their agencies walls as they direct their agencies' culture and foundations for human resource practices.

Values congruence as it relates to organization to organization fit

The present research seeks to understand how these business owners perceived homophily within their business and which aspect of homophily affected their business the most. Respondents provided their conceptualizations of homophily or “sameness” as it relates to their business (See Table 5). In contrast to the former Shoney’s executive who claimed that restaurant employees must racially match their customers in order to ensure success, the respondents who participated in this study did not share this view. However, the aspect of homophily that was most important to respondents as it relates to the success or downfall of their business was values. Both cohorts of respondents, regardless of their black consumer or general market expertise, consistently stated that a values match between their organization, their clients and employees is at the heart of a fruitful partnership.

The respondents’ conviction is consistent with organizational behavior literature. The “good fit” or “match” that Rebecca described is known as person-organization fit (Silva Hutchenson and Wahl 2010) and values congruence (Edwards and Cable 2009). The concept and importance of person-organizational fit was popularized in the late 20th century. It is “compatibility between people and the organizations in which they work” (Kristof, 1996, p. 1). This concept suggests that an individual’s attitudes and behaviors are influenced by the extent to which the organization and the individual are similar or have a fit on certain characteristics. The characteristics that are typically examined are the individual’s and the environment’s values, goals, and traits (Silva Hutchenson and Wahl 2010). Similarly, values congruence between the individual and his or her employment

organization means that the employee's mission, values and goals are aligned with the mission values and goals of the organization (Edwards and Cable 2009).

A substantial amount of research has upheld the importance of congruence between the values of employees and organizations (Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman and Johnson 2005; Edwards and Cable 2009). This research suggests that when employees hold values that match the values of their employing organization, they are satisfied with their jobs, identify with the organization, and seek to maintain the employment relationship (Amos and Weathington 2008).

Employee "Sameness" kills idea

If appropriate values are in tact, respondents agree that "difference" is better than "sameness" when it comes to their ideal employees. This finding is consistent with Dalessio and Imada's (1984) findings regarding final decision-making preference in employee hiring. The research examined whether the interviewers' final decision was related to the degree of similarity between the interviewers' perception of the ideal employee and the degree of similarity between the interviewers' self-perception and the applicant (homophily). The results indicated that final decisions were related more to the ideal applicant match than to the self-applicant match (Dalessio and Imada 1984). This preference for the ideal match is still relevant in the 21st century. The nature of work in the 21st century presents many challenges for staffing. For example, greater knowledge-based work places, increased demands on employee cross-functional job capabilities, and widespread demographic, labor, societal, and cultural changes have created workforce that is increasingly multifaceted (Ployhart 2006).

This finding was also consistent with employee diversity related research. As alluded to earlier in this paper, early employee diversity research (1960s–1980s), motivated by the passage of the Civil Rights Act in the U.S., focused on whether there was discrimination and bias present in selection, training, performance evaluations, and promotions in the workplace (Cox and Nkomo 1990). Employee diversity has been typically studied under six dimensions: racial and ethnic diversity, gender diversity, age diversity, disability diversity, sexual orientation diversity, cultural and national origin diversity (Shore et al. 2009; Ng and Wyrick 2011).

The research on the positive effect of a diverse workforce on the success of a company is mixed. Some scholars have found that diversity contributes to conflict, which then makes work processes less efficient, while other scholars found that the clashing of ideas improves business processes. In general, scholars have reported that employee diversity's positive impact on company success was tied to a clear organizational commitment lead by senior executive management (Shore et al. 2009; Ng and Wyrick 2011).

As senior managers, the respondents' commitment to promoting an inclusive environment within their agencies is likely what supports their observation that employee diversity helps improve their business. When senior managers support employee inclusion policies, employees obtain more executive mentors, development training, versus staffing efforts alone. As a result, companies that employ a diversity and inclusion employee development strategy that garners broad executive level support enjoy

significant contributions to firm performance in terms of employee productivity, return on equity, and market performance (Weigand 2007).

Further, the present research's respondents displayed ethno-cultural empathy. Ethno-cultural empathy encompasses "the amount of empathy people have toward diverse cultures and ethnicities on attributes such as empathic feeling and expression, cultural awareness, perspective taking, and acceptance of cultural differences," (Cundiff, Nadler and Swan 2009, p. 99). Cundiff, Nadler and Swan (2009) found that employees' ethno-cultural empathy, and by extension the managers', relates to positive intention to attend and interests in diversity initiatives. Still, it is likely that respondents displayed ethno-cultural empathy, in part, because of their own experiences related to exclusionary practices as employees and citizens.

Although respondents displayed signs of ethno-cultural empathy when it comes to their business and employees, respondents disagree regarding in-group inclusionary practices within the black advertising industry community. This will be discussed in the next section.

Homophily as it relates to mentoring

Inaccessible black mentors in the advertising industry at large

The differences in experiences of organizational structures from the time that most of the 46-75-year-old age cohort started their careers versus 25-45-year-old age cohort may help explain some of the differences in mentoring expectations between the two age cohorts. When respondents like John were starting their careers in the 1960s through the early 80s, it was widely agreed upon that the best way to view a firm was

through a “governance” structure. In the governance structure, high value was placed on the chain of command. Employees would only report to their direct supervisor, and the CEO, or senior manager, would have few direct reports. Executives were on “executive” levels of the company with separate eating areas and conference rooms. The average employee would never see them much less engage with them. Large corporations were formal, multi-layered organizations whose employee development depended on social ties rather than a structured development program (Rajan and Wulf 2006). Corporate mentoring and development programs were not apart of the employee development expectation when respondents like John entered the work force. Respondents like John developed and made their way into the workforce and later entrepreneurship without much support. By the time mentoring came into vogue, respondents like John were well into their businesses and had hired people to manage human resources issues on their behalf. Mentoring was not their main priority; growing their business was their prime concern.

In contrast, by the time the younger cohort of respondents entered the workforce, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) was in place, had the power, and had been successful at holding companies accountable for their diversity and inclusion policies according to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This meant that companies had to be more accountable to the government for employment action or inaction regarding employee development. The results of the empowered EEOC included company sanctioned mentoring and training/development programs that were a norm by

the time the younger members began to enter the workforce in the late 1980s, 1990s and early 2000s (Rajan and Wulf 2006).

Additionally, the late 80s ushered in a flattening of senior management hierarchy in leading firms. Corporate downsizing due to increased national and global competition, advancements in technology, and the need for companies to be more streamlined has led to this flattening effect. In the early 2000s, e-commerce allowed consumers to have instant access to products, services and complaints at the click of a button. Businesses had to stand ready to respond to stay relevant. This knowledge economy put a high premium on sharp employees who could more easily be lost to the competition. This meant that companies had to put greater emphasis on training and development not just to appease the EEOC, but also to keep their best assets—their employees (Erogon and Bauer 2005).

Recollections like John's, a member of the 46-75 year old age cohort, of having to “figure it out without someone holding his hand” were consistent with the traditional hierarchal nature of business organizations. Additionally, his suggestion that “young kids don't want to hear from old people anyway” suggests a disconnect between the younger cohort and members of his cohort. Perhaps, there is a measure of respect that respondents like John feel is lacking with the younger age cohort. Ben, a member of the 25-45 year old age cohort, addressed this specifically and described this phenomenon as deference or humble submission to elders. He said he learned about deference growing up, but it was reinforced in his historically black fraternity in college. These particular Greek letter organizations induct new members at both the undergraduate and post-

graduate levels. As such, potential members have nearly a lifetime to be inducted. Additionally, active membership tends to be increasingly multigenerational as members often maintain and sometimes increase their participation in social and community service activities after work force retirement. In keeping with Ben's experience growing up, deference meant that younger cohorts in the fraternity could disagree with older cohort members, but only to the point of social acceptance. If an elder fraternity brother uttered "deference" during a debate, it was a signal to the younger brother to be silent, listen, and honor the words of the wise (Ross 2002).

Ben's experience of deference within his fraternity is consistent with the traditional black American cultural phenomenon of deference to elders as well. It has been suggested that black American families place an extremely high value on respecting, obeying, and learning from elders in the kinship network and community (Willis, 1992). In investigations of parent-adolescent conflict among a homogeneous sample of middle-class African American families, parents indicated that they viewed conflicts with children in terms of respect for parents, obedience to authority, and the importance of cultural traditions (Dixon Graber and Brooks-Gun, 2008).

Respect for elders is expected of both men and women in the black family. The Eurocentric definition of being the "head of the household" does not incorporate the more egalitarian role that seems to be part of the process in black American family functioning (Hill- Collins, 2000; Lawrence-Webb Littlefield and Okundaye 2004). The dominate, Eurocentric notions of the man as the "breadwinner" and the female as the "homemaker, do not hold in the black American community. During slavery both black men and

women had to work. Even post slavery, legal and systematic means of labor exclusions meant that both men and women needed to continue to participate in a segregated labor market to support their families (Dade and Sloan 2000). According to Dade and Sloan (2000), Black American males and females define their roles in an androgynous fashion as opposed to emphasizing their masculinity/femininity. “This does not mean that there is no role differentiation in African American intergender relationships. Rather, the boundaries separating male and female gender roles are diminished by a greater egalitarian quality in the black household,” (Lawrence-Webb Littlefield and Okundaye 2004, p 2). However, what challenges black male and black female intergender roles in the black household is the pull between egalitarian equality in the home and the Eurocentric model of “breadwinner” and “homemaker” with these households struggling between the two (Dade and Sloan 2000; Hill- Collins, 2000; Lawrence-Webb Littlefield and Okundaye 2004). Even with these complications, respect for elders has been historically important and must still be relevant to both age cohorts, which explains their complicated interactions in advertising workplace and advertising industry environments. Many of the members of the older age cohort feel that members of the younger age cohort are entitled and ungrateful. While many members of the younger age cohort feel the members of the older age cohort are inaccessible and somewhat unapproachable. These perceptions could be largely based on misunderstandings, but could also be a reflection of in-group hostility within the black advertising community. In-group hostility based on “Crabs in a barrel” is much more deliberate than any misunderstandings, and will be discussed in the next section.

Crabs in a barrel

As previously mentioned, “Crabs in a barrel” is a colloquial metaphor that attempts to explain the mentality of people who would sabotage one of their group members, even if that group member’s success could mean success for the entire group. The metaphor describes a hot pot of crabs. Individually, the crabs could easily escape from the pot, but instead they grab at each other, which prevents any form escaping. This ensures their collective demise (McCloud 2011). The interviewer was not expecting a dialogue regarding in-group discrimination, which is why in-group discrimination or conflict questions were not in the interview protocol (See Appendix-Interview Protocol). The younger respondents’ internal conflict reflects the traditional Black family dynamic regarding the importance of honoring elders (Hill Collins 2000; Lawrence-Webb Littlefield and Okundaye 2004).

In scholarship, White and Langer (1995) described an aspect of horizontal hostility that is hostile toward in-group members not considered to be authentic members based on the opinions of self appointed in-group experts. The authors went on to provide anecdotal examples that include the Black Student Association at an ivy-league college attempting to block the appointment of a light skinned black female law professor because she was not “black” enough. Additionally, they noted the backlash that the first deaf Miss America, Heather Whitestone, received from deaf activists because she utilized oral English rather than American Sign Language.

White and Langer’s (1995) examination of horizontal hostility was one of the first studies to test it empirically. The authors found that the previous examples are beyond

anecdotal. Based on two studies that included 3 sects of orthodox Jews and 3 levels of soccer clubs on a college campus, the in-group that experienced horizontal discrimination was the one that was considered the most mainstream. Mainstream in this instance meant that it was most accessible or recognizable by the most people. In the case of horizontal discrimination, membership is more valuable if the number of members is limited and if membership is for life.

Social identity theory calls this value positive social identity. Group distinctiveness is a part of this process from an in-group perspective (Tajfel and Turner 1979) (see Table 1). In order to gain more power, smaller or more marginalized groups cannot necessarily achieve power based on increasing their size because it is too time intensive. However, they can achieve more immediate power by being distinct. In this case, authentic group membership is the source of this type of power. Self-proclaimed keepers of the authentic group feel it is their duty to police the acceptance of others for the good of the group. Ironically, in their efforts to maintain this group authenticity, they often alienate those outed in-group members that could help elevate the status and notoriety of the group. This is the way in which “crabs in a barrel” is described by respondents. The system of marginalization is like the hot water from which the crabs are trying to escape. To pull others down may seem irrational, but it is reasonable to ask why anyone would expect to act rationally under such duress. Still, the difference between crabs and humans is the ability to reason. History has shown that when marginalized groups harness their power as a collective, change can occur. When you know better you do better. The charge for scholars is to ensure that the knowledge

advancements being made in this area are not just guarded in scholarship, but reach the mainstream to help marginalized groups toward equality.

Given the hierarchical nature of the Black families, and by extension communities, it stands to reason that over the past 40 years seasoned black entrepreneurs in advertising have viewed newer in-group members as inauthentic and potentially threats to the small group known as black advertising professionals. As keepers of this small group, some seasoned black advertising professionals can reject new entrants based on the entrant not matching their ideal. Examples of mismatches could include, but are not limited to, choosing a business model that pursues the general market consumer versus the black consumer market, or a business model that only utilizes e-commerce and online advertising expertise or some combination of the aforementioned (White and Langer 1995; Hill Collins 2000; Lawrence-Webb Littlefield and Okundaye 2004).

Regardless of the root of the rift, acceptance should happen between both groups. The younger cohorts could ensure they are offering business solutions that offer easy access to newer technologies for seasoned entrepreneurs. Seasoned entrepreneurs could make a greater effort to serve as mentors and guides in an industry that is full of opportunity, yet still plagued with a segregationist past. Still, given Black family and community dynamics regarding respect for elders, and children having their place, black entrepreneurs who are more than 20 years younger may be viewed, in the mind of older counterparts, like children. In this case, it may be challenging for these more seasoned professionals to separate these potential business partners from their own children and grandchildren, potentially missing opportunities for a lucrative partnership.

Directions for future research and implications

Implications for future research

The purpose of this study was to investigate the meaning of and the ways in which homophily might serve or suppress advertising agency relationship-marketing opportunities. Though this research specifically questioned black advertising agency entrepreneurs, this research could be replicated to assess similar issues as they relate to other marginalized groups in advertising and the industry at large.

This study's findings suggested many opportunities for future research. As such, research propositions and questions are provided to help establish a research agenda. First, there is little to no scholarly research on business issues related to advertising. There is also limited empirical research on the business functions of advertising related to the selling of their services and even less related to advertising agencies owned by marginalized group members. "Much of the historical literature on 'minorities in advertising' deals with ethnic images in advertisements and discusses the sociopolitical and psychological ramifications of these portrayals (Davis, 2002, 1; Chambers, 2009)." For example, respondents noted that homophily as it relates to task bonding was better suited for managing current client relationships, while homophily as it relates to social bonding was better suited for obtaining new clients. It could also be that the respondents placed an importance on structural bonding with current clients to guard against a stereotypical laissez faire attitude attributed to advertising agency workers. Still, it would be important to question whether these respondents are guarding against a general advertising agency worker stereotype or a black American stereotype or both.

Additionally, these same variables may be useful in understanding international and cross-cultural business-to-business client related dynamics as it relates to tribes, religions and other subgroups.

Future research would do well to explore the nature of these concepts with similarly situated respondents in agencies that focus on different U.S. markets and well as international markets and compare the results.

P1: The higher the perception of task bonding homophily the higher the perception of client satisfaction

P2: The higher the perception of social bonding homophily the higher the perception of new business success

P3: The higher the perception of task bonding homophily the less the perception of race based discrimination

P4: The higher the perception of task bonding homophily the less the perception of race based discrimination

P5: The higher the perception of task bonding homophily the less the perception of tribe based discrimination

P6: The higher the perception of task bonding homophily the less the perception of religion based discrimination

P7: The higher the perception of task bonding homophily the less the perception of advertising agency worker stereotype discrimination

Further, advertising scholarship primarily focuses on consumer outcomes rather than production or producers (West, Kover, & Caruana; 2008; Gotsi, et al. 2010). The

focus on advertising outcomes leaves advertisements heavily scrutinized, but leaves the team who designed it or the industry that sustains it unscathed. There are faces behind these brands and even more influence. To be critical of an advertising campaign means we must also challenge ourselves to be constructively critical of its producers and managers. The present research adds to the critical analysis of advertising as it focuses behind the scenes (Patel 2011). As such, this study calls on academics to take up a specific research agenda that offers critical analysis of the advertising industry, advertising management practices, and solutions to advance the field.

Additionally, the findings revealed concepts that are central to further understanding issues related to diversity and inclusion issues within advertising agencies as well as in the industry at large. Respondents were primarily mission or business oriented, and these designations seemed to affect the ease by which they expanded outside of the racial consumer homophily. This mission versus business orientation is likely not limited to the respondents of the present research. A mission versus a business orientation may predict an agency employee's entrepreneurial pursuits or particular brands for which they may be best suited to work on. This type of assessment may be especially useful for entry-level employees.

P8: A mission orientation is positively related to the intention to work on a non-profit account

P9: A business orientation is positively related to the intention to work on agency new business

From a mentoring perspective, the findings suggest that exposure to mentoring is directly related to whether or not one will become a mentor. Social desirability may encourage an individual to express an intention to be a mentor even if that is not his or her true aspiration. Further exploration in this area can help advertising agencies as well as other businesses better identify who might be the best fit for a mentoring program.

P10: The more advertising agency employees are exposed to mentoring, the more likely they are to be a mentor

Since this research revealed that older respondents did not prioritize mentoring, further exploration related to this issue within the advertising industry at large.

P11: The older an advertising agency employee, the less likely they are to be a mentor

Finally, as previously suggested, questions related to the present research are directly applicable to other advertising entrepreneurs who specialize in niche advertising. Future studies in line with the present research should also endeavor to broaden the employee groups explored. Race was so salient for these respondents that gender issues did not naturally breach the surface. This could have been a product of intersectionality. Intersectionality emerged in the late 20th century. Crenshaw (1991) conceived the term “intersectionality” to describe the myriad ways race and gender interact to shape black women’s employment experiences. The conversation later expanded beyond black feminism and sociology to understand more fully the dynamic interactions of class privilege and underprivileged as well. Further, in contemporary social science, the term “intersectionality” also characterizes an interdisciplinary study that endeavors to analyze

the social phenomenon (i.e. being passed over for promotion) along with multiple axes of identity (i.e. senior level executive). As a field, it integrates previously segregated disciplines like African-American studies, disability studies, queer studies, gender studies and organizational studies. The study of this integration is especially useful for future diversity and inclusion related research. The interviewees, in the present research, thoughts and feelings were clearly influenced by their race, age, and workplace experiences.(Crenshaw 1991; Hill 2005; Gopaldas 2013).

Future research should involve white males, white women, and women of color in the industry in similar groups for comparison. Additionally, employees with disabilities, those who are open with their religious affiliation, veterans, and those who identify with the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer community (LGBTQ) should also be included. As the United States population ages, differing age cohorts within advertising deserve further exploration as new concepts regarding intra and inter group relations will likely be revealed. Further, respondents conceptualized homophily or sameness as it relates to employees and clients in the following ways: values, race, family, surrogate family, sorority/fraternity, personality, gender, generation/life experiences, entrepreneurial spirit, expertise/skill. Please see Table 5 for definitions. Of these conceptualizations, value homophily seems to be most salient when it comes to employee to organization and organization-to-organization fit. A more thorough examination of homophily may offer a broader conceptualization.

R1: How do women perceive that homophily servers or suppresses their career advancement opportunities within a general market agency?

R2: How do members of the LGBTQ community perceive that homophily serves or suppresses their career advancement opportunities within a general market agency?

R3: How do Asian American advertising agency owners perceive homophily serves or suppresses his or her relationship marketing opportunities?

R4: How do Latino advertising agency owners perceive homophily or “sameness” in their business.

In general, this research should be ongoing, persistent, and solutions oriented. As the advertising industry works toward being more inclusive, academics can work toward research that reveals industry entry points and exit points as they relate to targeted groups. This research could work toward developing human resources interventions to stave off the premature exit of historically marginalized employees. Advertising agency employers are unfortunately not simply battling diversity and inclusion within their walls, but also those outside dynamics that employees may unknowingly bring with them to work. For better or for worse, the majority of Americans still live, worship, and socialize in a segregated fashion making diversity and inclusion education in the workplace decidedly more challenging (Pais South and Crowder 2008; Britton and Goldsmith 2013).

Implications for Academia

This research suggests that the sociology and by extension the management concept of homophily in the context of a black owned advertising agency is complicated by issues of identity and the added burden of managing a business related to a mass media service. The agency’s particular business model results in a public display of the

work versus the private service that an accounting firm may conduct on behalf of the client. This lends itself to the need for students to understand management practices specifically related to a creative services business. As a result, advertising agency management and advertising agency marketing (new business development) are courses that should be available through advertising departments.

Multiculturalism is an increasingly important phenomenon in many countries in the world. The United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, France, Malaysia, South Africa, and Australia all qualify as multicultural in some form (Burton 2002). The multicultural market has witnessed tremendous growth in these societies, yet multicultural marketing is marginalized in the marketing curriculum. First, the present research reveals multicultural business-to-business issues that deserve further examination. Multicultural and cross-cultural dynamics in business-to-business products and services will continue to influence business partnerships and servicing opportunities.

Still multicultural classes are often electives, not required or not offered at all. Given the ever moving and changing face of our world, understanding multicultural marketing should not be presented to students as an option. It should be presented as an important knowledge tool that will help ensure their success. Additionally, every class should address some aspect of multicultural marketing with their instruction. There is nothing marketed to a monolithic group because monolithic groups do not exist. Universal truths are not actually universal if they still have to translate that “truth” in a way that multiple groups can grasp and in turn behave as marketers would desire.

As a result, it will become increasingly unethical and socially irresponsible for marketing and advertising educators to exclude multicultural discourse when significant numbers of our students will be drawn from these groups. Further, students need more than just a descriptive exposure to differences in culture. They need practice in acting effectively across different cultural groups in order to develop cultural competency (Jones 2003). Teaching them means that we are helping students to be able to compete on a world stage (Burton 2005).

Implications for the advertising industry

First, younger black entrepreneurs desire connection and relationship with seasoned black entrepreneurs and executives. This was true when younger respondents were employees of other advertising agencies as well. Non-black advertising entrepreneurs and executives can be very effective mentors and resource providers for advertising agency practitioners like the respondents. However, there may be some culturally sensitive issues that may be challenging for non-members to navigate. These in-group connections are not meant to exclude non-members, but simply to increase support for members. Additionally, these in-group mentoring relationships could be mutually beneficial for both parties. These connections could help to work towards breaking down walls and address cultural misunderstandings across age cohorts; support those who are currently community building and sharing knowledge; and foster potentially lucrative partnerships.

Second, this type of research encourages the advertising industry to continue the diversity and inclusion discourse. This research serves as an example of the depth of

insight that can be gathered by talking to the people who are or have been negatively affected by limited diversity and inclusion action. This concept is one that the industry readily understands as it talks to consumers on behalf of their clients every day. They deliver surveys or sit down with consumers to consider their desires, hopes and dreams. They also reach out to consumers on behalf of clients to understand service failures and other disappointments. All of the data collected, good and bad is reported back to the client. As a result of that analysis, strategies are presented to the client to either help them win back consumers or continue to win them over.

Similarly, in order to conquer diversity and inclusion issues in the industry — we must look back over time. As previously stated, this has been an ongoing issue for at least the 50 years that it has been documented. Marginalization in the labor market is not just an advertising problem, it is symptomatic of a history of labor oppression in the United States. So, what can Advertising do to work toward a solution? Advertising can do its job. The advertising industry is comprised of world-class researchers, writers, digital strategists, art directors, producers, media planners, talent directors, and a whole host of other professionals who are already equipped to put their expertise toward improvement. However, it will take time and investment. The industry must ask the right people, with the right expertise, the right questions to get to the best ideas. For example, a media planner would be great person to ask for fresh ideas on recruiting. An account planner could help to understand the subtle nuances of marginalized groups and any aversions to the industry. A copywriter could then have a sense of what to say to combat these aversions. An art director would know how the recruiting materials should look and feel.

A talent professional could bring it all together to promote and inside out diversity and inclusion initiative. It is a something like a new business pitch investment that an advertising agency may not be certain it can win, but the agency cannot pass up the chance to try. All hands should be on deck. The winner takes all the glory.

Figure 1: The Business Life Cycle

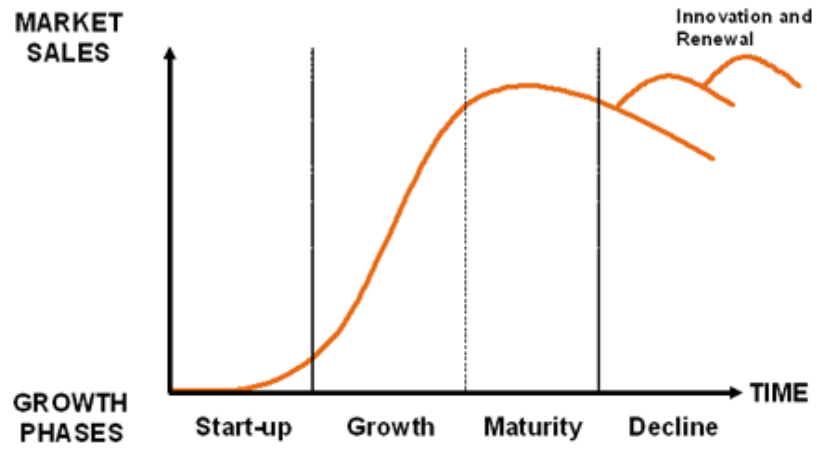


Table 1: Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner 1979)

| |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>1. Categorization: people often put others into categories like graduate student, undergraduate, faculty and staff.</p> |
| <p>2. Identification: people also associate with certain in-groups or out-groups that impacts self-esteem.</p> |
| <p>3. Comparison: people compare out groups with other groups, seeing a favorable bias toward the group to which we belong.</p> |
| <p>4. Psychological Distinctiveness: people desire our identity to be both distinct from and positively compared with other groups.</p> |

Table 2: Companies to Whom the NAACP Sent Letter, 2004

| | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Anheuser- Busch | Macy's |
| AT&T | Nissan Motor Company |
| Bank of America | Procter & Gamble |
| Berkshire | Sears Holdings Corporation |
| Chrysler | Sony Corporation |
| Ford Motor Company | Sprint Nextel Corporation |
| General Electric Company | Time Warner |
| General Motors Corporation | Toyota Motor Corporation |
| GlaxoSmithKline | Unilever |
| Honda Motor Company | Verizon Communications |
| Johnson & Johnson | Viacom |
| Kraft Foods | Walt Disney Company |
| L'Oreal | |

Table 3: Steps of the Heuristic Model of the theory of Economic Detour

| |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Societal hostility (in the post–Civil War era) |
| Prompted governmental interventions (such as Jim Crow laws) and local customs |
| Which resulted in the relocation of black firms away from the central business district (i.e., away from general consumer market opportunities) |
| Into a “one-race” market for consumers. |
| These phenomena had the effect of decreasing the total amount of business opportunity available and prompted a significant decline in the total number of black firms over time. |
| Conditions responsible for this decline eventually result in the complete removal of black entrepreneurs from the competitive marketplace |

Table 4: List of respondents:

| Age Cohort: 25-45 | *Agency start→ownership: | Age Cohort: 55-75 | *Agency start→ownership: |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Karen | GM→BC | Katherine | GM→BC |
| Nora | GM→BC | Linda | GM→BC |
| Ben | GM→BC | Pete | GM→BC |
| Rebecca | GM→BC | Debra | GM→BC |
| Jamal | GM→BC | John | BC→BC |
| Aaron | GM→GM | Phil | BC→BC |
| Jackson | GM→GM | Carl | BC→BC |
| David | GM→GM | Bill | BC→BC |
| Evan | GM→GM | Michael | BC→BC |
| Natasha | GM→GM | Paul | BC→BC |

*Black Consumer Advertising (BC) or General Market Advertising (GM)

Table 5: Respondents' conceptualization of homophily as it relates to employees and clients

| | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Values | Employees: Personal and business values alignment in principles, ethics, or standards of behavior Clients: The worth of services |
| Race | Black or African-American |
| Family | Biological Family |
| Surrogate Family | A mentor as second father or mother |
| Sorority/Fraternity | One of the 9 historically black member organizations of the National Pan-Hellenic Council |
| Personality | Open to new ideas |
| Gender | Male or Female |
| Generation/Life Experience | Age Cohort |
| Entrepreneurial Spirit | A self-starter; takes ownership of projects |
| Expertise/Skill | Brand manager, Account manager, Copy Writer; Producer, Black consumer expert, Social media expert, etc. |
| Trade Organizations | AMA, AAAA, DMA, etc. |

Appendix: Interview Protocol

Interview Protocol IRB 2012-05-0095

Black Entrepreneurs in Advertising: The Role of Homophily in Serving or Suppressing Firm Relationship Marketing Opportunities

Full Name/Alias:

Date/Time of Interview:

Location:

Identity & Self Perception

*I'm interested in hearing about how you got into a career in advertising. Would you please explain what attracted to advertising, and how you got started? (note: homophily and lived experience)

Prompts if needed:

What led you to start your business?

What has being an entrepreneur in advertising meant to you?

(Probe on race related issues only if the respondents address it on their own)

*I'm interested in what led you to start your business? What year did you start? What about your business allowed you to stand out from your competition?

*Think back to when you first started your agency. What in your own experiences made you believe that your agency point of view could be competitive?

*Imagine you are pitching your agency to a client. How would you describe the nature of your business and expertise?

Prompt: Consider consumer target as well as capabilities (note homophily)

Networks from employees and consumer target market (Homophily Specifics)

Target audience

*In what ways do you resemble your key target audience? In what ways are you different?

*To what extent do you feel that your own similarity to your consumer in lifestyle or culture affects your ability to be able to market effectively to that group?

Employees

*Who do you see as the ideal employee?

*In what ways do you resemble your employees? In what ways are you different?

*Talk to me about an experience where someone was not a good fit. What happened?

*To what extent do your and your employees' backgrounds and expertise impact the credibility of your agency? In what way?

Company

*You've heard of the lack of diversity in many of the larger general market firms. Does this issue have an impact on your agency? If not, please explain. If so, in what way?

*In thinking about your employees and your business, how has your agency evolved over time: Prompt: agency has become more diverse, capabilities have become more diverse, or both? How have these evolutions impacted your business? (note homophily and changes)

Relationship marketing & external network (homophily) formation

Positioning the Agency

*How do you think your agency is positioned within the advertising industry?

*Was there ever a time when you felt that you had to change the direction of your company? If so, please describe that to me.

*How did your clients respond to this change?

*Have you had an experience where your agency's positioning has been challenged in the industry? Was there a discrepancy between how your agency was positioned versus your intended positioning? How did you handle that?

*What percent of your billings come from Black Consumer/Black B2B Market?

Managing that Positioning

*How do clients perceive your agency? (i.e. the multicultural experts; the digital experts; the social media experts)

Building Relationships with Clients

*What are your key social networks, (business organizations, social organizations, online networks i.e. LinkedIn), that help you find new business opportunities.

*Tell me an experience of how one of these networks helped you land a new piece of business.

*Would you say that the people in these networks are very similar to you or quite different? How do those similarities or differences impact your networking ability?

Ok. So let's think about how you sell your business to your current clients.

*In what ways do you work to build relationships with clients? How do you build trust? To what extent do personal friendships matter to new business development?

Prompts if needed:

What do you feel is your biggest competitive advantage? Why should clients choose your agency over another?

How important is building and maintaining relationships to earning new business from existing clients? Please explain

*How important is building and maintaining relationships to earning new business from existing clients? Please explain

Evolution

*What about when you want to venture out and test out a new target market or lifestyle group, is it important for you to have people who represent those groups in place, or do you just move forward?

*In trying to evolve into new territory, have you ever had trouble getting current and/or potential clients to take advantage of your evolved expertise?

Prompts if needed:

-To what do you attribute this trouble? (examples: stereotypes, lack of vision, poor explanation, not as prepared as you would have liked, cultural or

generational differences.) Please explain.

Success

*How do you define success?

*To what extent does new business come from former clients, current clients, or new clients?

Prompts:

-Why do you think former clients refer business to you?

-Why do you think current clients expand their business relationship with you?

-When it comes to winning new clients

*What do you see as the primary barriers to your success?

*Have early black entrepreneurs in advertising had an influence on you or your business??

Prompt:

-Have your predecessors contributed to your successes and/or disappointments? If so, how? If not, why not?

*Is there anything that I should have asked that I have not?

Demographics

Identify your gender:

Race/Ethnic identity for which you most identify:

Approximate Age:

Location of Business:

Founding date:

Company Name:

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